DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 441 639 RC 022 420

AUTHOR	Carlton, Rosemary
TITLE	Sheldon Jackson the Collector.
INSTITUTION	Alaska State Museums, Juneau.
PUB DATE	1999-00-00
NOTE	98p.; Photographs may not reproduce adequately.
AVAILABLE FROM	Alaska State Museums, 395 Whittier St., Juneau, AK 99801 ($14). Tel: 907-465-4840; e-mail: thestore@alaska.net.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Historical Materials (060)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation; *Alaska Natives; American Indian Culture; American Indian Education; Art; *Cultural Maintenance; Eskimos; Federal Indian Relationship; *Material Culture; *Museums; *State History; Vocational Education
IDENTIFIERS	*Alaska; Eskimo Culture; *Jackson (Sheldon); Missionaries

ABSTRACT

Missionary, educator, humanitarian, and collector, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson came to Alaska in 1877 to assimilate Native populations into the dominant White culture, but his collecting efforts between 1877 and 1902 represent a significant effort to preserve the legacy of Alaska Natives during a period of tumultuous change. A zealous missionary, Jackson established numerous missions, schools, and churches during his early work in Minnesota, the Rocky Mountains, and the Southwest. His interest in collecting things grew during this period, and by the time he went to Alaska, he had the support of the Smithsonian Institution and a display at the Princeton Theological Seminary. His successful fundraising was fueled by his public speaking abilities, his missionary newspaper, and educational tours to Native sites. He believed that American Indians would be better converted to Christianity if they first learned the White man's lifestyle through concrete educational experiences. Jackson hoped to avoid reservations by establishing civil government and an education system in Alaska. In 1885, Jackson was appointed as General Agent of Education for Alaska. Importing reindeer from Siberia and teaching Alaska Natives to herd them tied in with his educational goals for Alaska. He founded a vocational school at Sitka, and the Alaska Museum of Natural History and Ethnology. Jackson did his collecting by acceptable standards of the 19th century and in a relatively sensitive manner. Although his collecting methods would not measure up to today's museum practices, had he not collected, much of the state's material culture would have been irretrievably lost. Appendices present the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology constitutions and list exhibit catalogs, Jackson's memberships in societies and organizations, world expositions involving Jackson or his collections, and all known repositories of Jackson's collections. (Contains end notes, many photographs, and an index.) (TD)

Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made
from the original document.

ED 441 639

SHELDON JACKSON
The Collector

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Bruce Kato

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

Rosemary Carlton
Sheldon Jackson Museum

RC022420

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

SHELDON JACKSON
The Collector

By Rosemary Carlton
Sheldon Jackson Museum

Alaska State Museums
Juneau, Alaska
1999

Alaska State Library Cataloging-In-Publication Data

Carlton, Rosemary.
Sheldon Jackson, the collector / by Rosemary Carlton. 96 p. ; cm.
Published by: Alaska State Museums.
Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. Jackson, Sheldon, 1834-1909. 2. Indians of North America—Material culture—Alaska—Collectors and collecting. 3. Alaska—History—1867-1959. I. Alaska State Museums.
F909.C36 1999

© Copyright 1999

Published by Alaska State Museums

All rights reserved.
Alaska Department of Education and Early Development
Division of Libraries, Archives and Museums
Alaska State Museums
395 Whittier St., Juneau, Alaska 99801

Sheldon Jackson Museum
104 College Dr., Sitka, Alaska 99835

Printed by the Friends of the Sheldon Jackson Museum
and the Friends of the Alaska State Museum

Table of Contents

Preface

Acknowledgments

Chapter

1. "Gatherers and Grabbers" 7
2. "Go Ye Into All the World" 9
3. "God Blesses Aggressiveness" 13
4. "If I Can't be First, I Will be Foremost" 17
5. The Napoleon of Alaska 23
6. General Agent of Education 29
7. How Their Fathers Lived 43
8. At the Front 59

Afterword 69

Appendix

A. Exhibit Catalogs Containing Objects from the Sheldon Jackson Collection, Princeton Art Museum 73

B. Memberships in Societies and Organizations 74

C. Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology Constitutions 75

D. World Expostitions and Sheldon Jackson 77

E. All Known Repositories of Objects Collected by Sheldon Jackson 78

Endnotes 79

Index 93

Preface

Born in 1834 to staunch Presbyterian parents, Sheldon Jackson decided at an early age to dedicate his life to "doing the Lord's work." His schooling, friendships, and goals focused on that purpose, and after completing his education at Princeton Theological Seminary he began a life-long career in Presbyterian missions and education.

Jackson's life can be divided roughly into four phases which are linked directly to geographical regions: his youth and education on the East Coast from 1834 to 1858; his early years in Oklahoma and Minnesota as circuit rider and church pastor from 1859 to 1869; his years in Denver as Superintendent of Missions for the Rocky Mountain Presbytery from 1870 to 1882; and his final years in Alaska as Superintendent of Missions and General Agent of Education from 1884 to 1908.

Two biographies have been written about Jackson along with numerous short pieces emphasizing either his mission and educational work, or his part in the introduction of reindeer to Alaska. Other works mention Jackson's collections at Princeton University, his founding of the Alaskan Society of Natural History and Ethnology, and the substantial collection of his artifacts made for the Chicago's World Colombian Exposition in 1893. However, many questions about Jackson's collecting remain unanswered. As a staff member of the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska, I was often frustrated by the glaring lack of information on one of Jackson's most positive and lasting contributions to society—his collecting.

When, how, what, where, and why Jackson collected were questions no one had clearly or completely answered. Historians Ted Hinckley and Douglas Cole touch on Jackson's collecting, primarily in the Pacific Northwest, but neither cover his early collecting nor his great Arctic acquisitions. This book examines each of these questions as well as the important and lasting impact of Jackson's changing methods and motives for collecting.

Rosemary Carlton

Acknowledgments

Historical research and writing can be accomplished only through team effort. I would like to thank the following "team members" who coached me through this seemingly endless project; Dr. Robert Griswold, my thesis advisor; Peter Corey, for his recommendations and leads to resources around the country and critical readings of the initial drafts; Carolyn Young and other museum staff members for their suggestions and corrections; and Irene Shuler for her computer expertise and editing skills.

Susan Miller and Kristen Gleason of the Presbyterian Historical Society unearthed numerous Jackson materials held there — their genuine interest in Sheldon Jackson matched my own. William O. Harris and his staff at the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, took time from their busy schedules to arrange for the microfilming of their Jackson holdings.

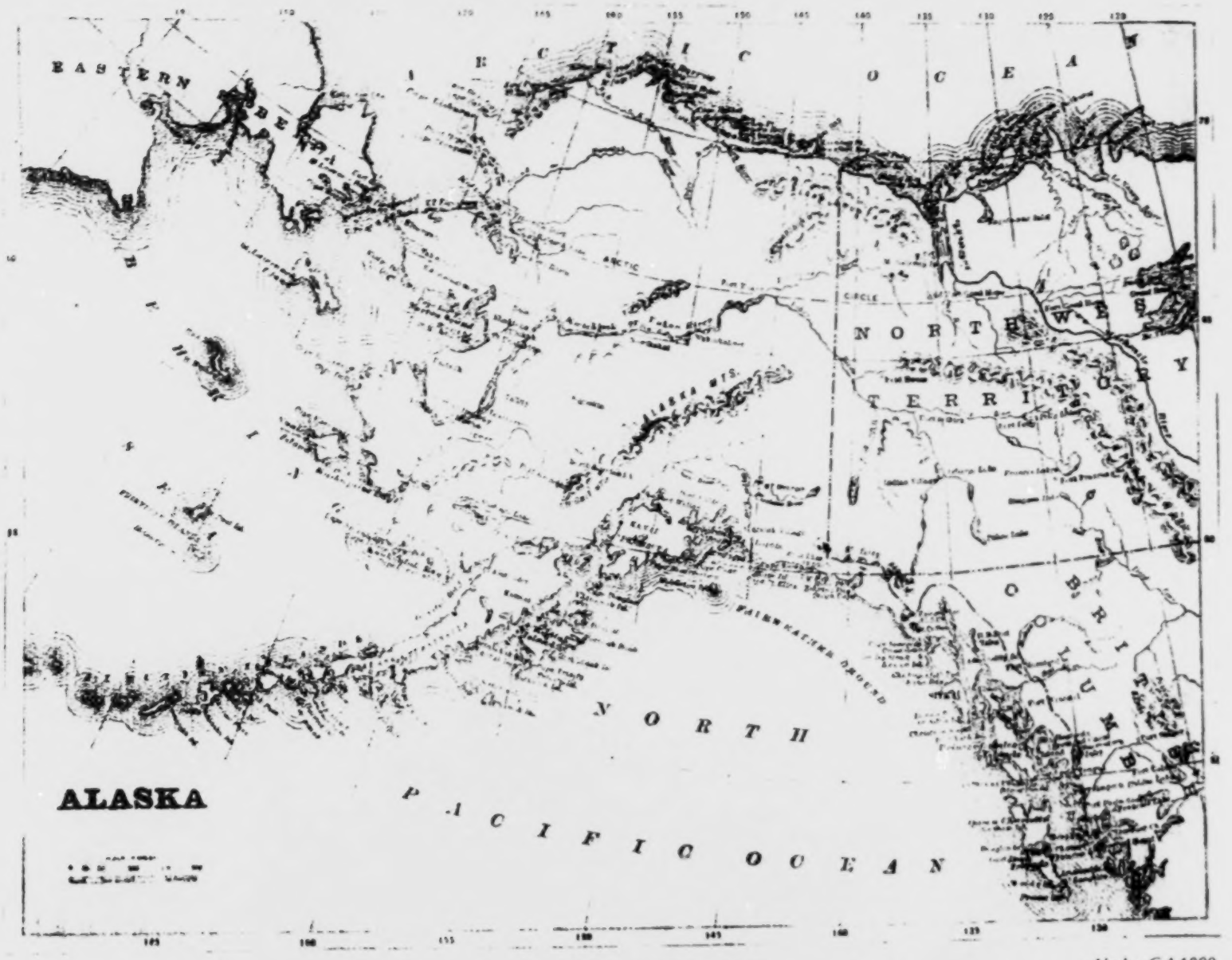
Without the persistence of Kay Shelton and the financial support of the Alaska State Library, the Sheldon Jackson Papers housed at the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, might not have been microfilmed and made available to Alaskan researchers. Gladi Kulp, India Spartz, and others on the staff of the State Library gave me special assistance during my research in Juneau as well as through many letters and phone conversations.

Donald Baird's insights and photocopies of information on the Sheldon Jackson Collection in Princeton's Museum of Natural History were invaluable since the bulk of the collection and documentation had been put into "dead storage" the year I started this project.

Many thanks to the librarians, historians, curators, and archivists of the Smithsonian Institution, the Field Museum of Natural History, the P.T. Barnum Museum, the Gardner House at Brown University, the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, the Bishop Museum, Westminister College of Salt Lake City, the Trans-Mississippi Expo Historical Association, the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society, the Montgomery County Historical Society, and the Kettleson Memorial Library. Special thanks to the Stratton Library at Sheldon Jackson College, particularly Nancy Ricketts and the Volunteers in Mission, who assisted my research in many ways.

The helpful research suggestions and encouragement from Alaska historian Ted Hinckley were gratefully appreciated.

My children, Charlotte and Derek, put up with my disappearances to the library and computer room and three trips to Oklahoma to complete the Master's program that fostered this book. My friends gave unending support and encouragement but special thanks goes to Gary Candelaria for assuring me I could write this book when I was not sure I could.



Alaska, CA 1890

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER 1

"Gatherers and Grabbers"

Alaska's Nineteenth Century Collectors

Missionary, educator, humanitarian, and collector, the Reverend Dr. Sheldon Jackson first came to Alaska in 1877 to continue Christianizing the Native peoples of America. While collecting was not Jackson's main purpose for being in Alaska, it became, at least for anthropologists and Alaska Natives, one of the most important services he performed during his long and productive life. Jackson was undoubtedly the most prodigious and important of amateur collectors in Alaska. His simple childhood habit of collecting plants and minerals developed into an adult passion for gathering and exhibiting the material culture of Alaska Natives.[1]

Jackson, of course, was not the first Euro-American to gather Alaska Native artifacts, nor was he unaffected by the collecting efforts of his predecessors. The writings of Captain James Cook, who had charted Alaska's waters, stimulated interest in the North Pacific and prompted other Europeans to explore the area. Explorers, navigators, and traders such as Robert Gray, George Vancouver, Jean La Perouse, and Alexander Baranov explored the Northwest coast gathering information on climate, geography, and natural resources, and collecting cultural objects from the people they encountered. Furs and examples of material culture from the indigenous people of the Northwest and Alaska trickled back to the academic centers in Europe and North America. Excited and encouraged by these early finds, scholars and collectors continued searching for materials to enrich their collections and to answer long-standing questions about the indigenous people of the Americas.

By the mid-nineteenth century examples of Alaskan material culture could be found in various collections around the globe. Drawn to Alaska by military, business, humanitarian and scientific interests, early collectors in the region were of three basic types. One group, mainly traders, travelers, managers, and military personnel posted in remote locations, gave little thought to the accumulation and transference of knowledge; these amateurs, indiscriminate grabbers of anything Native-made, gathered curios for personal pleasure or financial gain, or because they were asked to by institutions such as the Smithsonian. Many missionaries and teachers working for Sheldon Jackson fell into this category.

A second group of collectors in Alaska was inspired by scientific ideals. Well-educated and connected to leading museums, members of this group concerned themselves with understanding Native peoples and with preserving material culture. Naturalists William Dall, Edward Nelson, and John Murdoch, Smithsonian representative James Swan and amateur ethnologist Lt. George Thornton Emmons were among those who realized that aboriginal cultures were changing and felt compelled to collect before these cultures vanished completely.[2]

Farsighted collectors instituted a more formal system of assembling objects than was practiced by the grabbers, with the best example of organized collecting being the late 1890s Jesup Expedition. Sponsored by the American Museum of Natural History and the Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences, and staffed by anthropologists and scientists, the Jesup Expedition had enough financial backing and expertise to systematically accumulate data and objects from aboriginal groups throughout Alaska and Siberia. Careful research and collecting broadened scholars' understanding ofAlaska and Siberia's Native people and resulted in the transfer of huge collections of artifacts to museums on the East Coast and in Europe.[3]

The third group of collectors in Alaska consisted of people who had a spiritual or intellectual interest in Native populations and who were aware of the importance of preserving aspects of rapidly changing cultures. Sheldon Jackson fit into this group, which included missionaries, educators, business people and government officials bent on assimilating Alaska Natives into the American mainstream. In Alaska for only a few months out of every year, Jackson relied heavily on people stationed there year-round to supply him with artifacts for his collections. Since neither Jackson nor his field workers had formal training in anthropology, natural history or museum work, the resulting collections were rather haphazard as well as inadequately documented.

While Jackson respected scientists and even incorporated some scientific practices into his own work, in reality he remained an amateur with a great deal of interest in and enthusiasm for collecting. Aware that indigenous cultures could soon vanish or be dramatically altered by acculturation, Jackson assembled a magnificent body of Alaskan materials. With many lesser amateur collections just now coming back to Alaska, it is significant that the bulk of Jackson's extraordinary collection never left.

The story of collecting in Alaska is long and complex, covering three centuries, hundreds of people, dozens of motives and methods, and of course, dramatic cultural changes. Whims of fate such as personality, timing and connections have made some collectors more successful than others. Single-minded, ambitious, uncompromising, self-assured, farsighted and caring, Sheldon Jackson was in the right places at the right times with the right people. Although Jackson's primary mission in Alaska was to assimilate Native populations into the dominant white culture, his collecting efforts between 1877 and 1902 represent a significant effort to preserve the legacy of Alaska Natives during a period of tumultuous change.[4]

CHAPTER 2

"Go Ye Into All the World"

Sheldon Jackson grew up in settings vastly different and far removed from the western frontiers where he won his fame. The communities of his childhood bear little resemblance to the scattered settlements and unforgiving lands in which Jackson spent most of his adult life.

Born on 18 May 1834, in Minaville, New York, Jackson was descended from well-established families whose members included judges, legislators, and physicians. His own father, Samuel, was a moderately successful businessman, while his mother, Delia, raised her children at home. After a fire in their home, the Jacksons moved to Esperance, New York, where greater access to the toll road between Buffalo and Albany allowed Samuel's business to prosper. Not long after the move, Louise, Sheldon's only sibling was born.

Esperance was a Presbyterian stronghold. Shortly after moving there, Samuel and Delia experienced a powerful religious awakening and promised to do all they could to ensure that their son would work for the Presbyterian Church when he grew up. Probably because of his parents' unfaltering faith, and his own budding single-mindedness and determination, young Sheldon more than fulfilled his parents' hopes and expectations.[1]

Standing: Sheldon Jackson, and his sister Louise Jackson. Seated: Delia Sheldon Jackson, Jackson's mother, and his father Samuel Clinton Jackson. Insert: Jackson's wife, Mary Voorhees Jackson, ca. 1858, the year Jackson graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary.

In 1852, Jackson enrolled as a sophomore at Union College in Schenectady, New York. There he made a public confession of faith and announced his desire to work in the mission field.[2] Even during these early years,

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Jackson showed an interest in collecting. Personal scrapbooks filled with pressed flowers and information on various cultures reflected his eagerness to learn about and preserve information about the world around him, a habit which followed him the rest of his life.[3] Jackson developed an appreciation and love for the natural world which increased as he matured, paralleling the spiritual and educational growth he experienced in school.

In 1855, graduating as an outstanding student from Union College, Jackson delivered the commencement address, thus beginning a lifetime of public speaking. Later that year Jackson moved on to Princeton Theological Seminary, where he found fertile ground for his interests, both religious and secular. At Princeton, Jackson met young missionaries—both men and women—who had actually been in the field; these contacts reinforced his desire to carry the Lord's word to "heathen populations" in other lands. Captivated by foreign service, Jackson focused his studies and personal relationships toward that end. Princeton may have been where Jackson's interest in aboriginal people began expanding beyond his professed desire to bring them under Christian influence.[4]

Particularly influential on his later work was Jackson's 1857 meeting with Mr. Bush, a former missionary to Siam. "He has a large cabinet of curiosities that he brought back with him," Jackson wrote to his parents and sister, "and through his explanations I learned more than ever before of [Siamese] customs, dress, etc."[5] The idea of employing objects to educate others probably inspired Jackson to use artifacts in his own work to educate prospective missionaries and to influence potential supporters.

During his years at Princeton, Jackson began developing the phenomenal fund-raising abilities which ultimately aided his success as a missionary and collector. During summer breaks from Princeton, the young student sold books for the Presbyterian Board of Publications. Using door to door salesmanship, he learned to convince others that their support was essential for carrying on the "good work"[6] After leaving Princeton, Jackson used his sales experience to solicit funds needed to start up and maintain churches, schools, missions, and eventually, the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka, Alaska. Jackson seemed to have a knack for getting people to give. Whether soliciting money, time, prayers, legislative support, or artifacts, Jackson always seemed to find someone willing to support his causes.

The year 1857-58, Jackson's final year at Princeton, was also the year of "The Great Awakening" in the United States and the year that eight Presbyterian missionaries were martyred in the Sepoy Rebellion in British India. This incident in particular sealed Jackson's determination to serve abroad. In December 1857, with graduation not far off, Jackson submitted his application to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church.[7]

Unfortunately, Jackson had some physical traits which disqualified him from service to overseas missions. Due to the fact that he stood about five feet four inches, wore glasses, and in his own words, had recently been "prostrated by poor health," Jackson did not meet the physical requirements for service overseas; he was, however, eligible for ministering to the "exceptional classes," including American Indians in North America.[11] Realizing that working among Native Americans might allow him to fulfill his dream of service to "exotic peoples," Jackson accepted an assignment to the Choctaw Reservation in Spencer, Oklahoma.

The Board of Foreign Missions encouraged missionaries to be married before entering the field. Jackson, one step ahead, had found his future wife during his years at Princeton.

Jackson married Mary Voorhees on May 18, 1858, and six weeks later set off with her on his

first assignment. Before beginning a long life devoted to work, Jackson and his bride visited a number of historic sites and institutions. In letters to their families, Sheldon and Mary extolled the wonders of, among others, the U.S. Patent Office, the Smithsonian Institution, the White House, and Mt. Vernon. Jackson took special interest in the Smithsonian collections assembled by various American exploration expeditions, while noting the "birds, beasts and reptiles curious and rare." Jackson was especially impressed with the large collections of "things of interest such as native clothing, utensils, implements of war, etc. from various barbarous nations of the earth."[8]

What Jackson saw in these museums stirred his compassion for peoples he felt were on the verge of extinction, and influenced his motives for collecting.[9] Although some believed that the gospel would prevent the "lost" from disappearing and others believed that taking away the Natives' sacred objects would speed their conversion, it is unclear whether Jackson shared such assumptions. Jackson's own experience as a long-time collector of such objects apparently left him unconvinced that removing artifacts speeded up conversion.

On reaching the Spencer Academy on the Choctaw Reservation in Oklahoma, Jackson found himself assigned to provide a classroom education for children on the reservation. Unfortunately, Sheldon Jackson, who would become an expert at choosing the right teacher for the right post, did not have what it took to be a classroom teacher. His assignment to teach the older boys and do a little preaching on the side did not last even a year. Although his body was attacked by malaria and typhoid, and his sense of humanity was offended by the suggestion of disciplining thirty-five unruly boys with a whip, Jackson nonetheless retained his compassion and idealism for mission work.[10]

Even during those first months of trying to accustom himself to the confinement and stress of a job for which he had no taste, Jackson found outlets for his frustration. His old habits of collecting and writing long descriptions of the natural world around him offered welcome distraction from daily confrontations in the classroom. One of his boys captured a centipede which Jackson carefully preserved in brandy and sent to his parents as Mary could not stand the thought of the creature, no matter how pickled, sharing her home.[11] Although Jackson's collections during this period were insignificant compared to his later efforts, the activity of collecting undoubtedly helped him through the remaining months in Oklahoma.

Suffering another bout of what was probably malaria or typhoid in January 1859, Jackson used his illness as a way to get out of the uncomfortable days in the classroom. As soon as his health permitted, Jackson got his wish to do more work outdoors and to preach. Saddling up, and taking no provisions, the young preacher began visiting the outlying groups of Choctaw. Normally, preachers carried their own food in order to avoid eating what their hosts might serve. But Jackson, no doubt sensing the importance of gaining trust and respect in any way possible, not only partook of native foods, but also, again contrary to custom, bedded down in Indian homes.[12]

On these preaching trips Jackson gathered natural history specimens and shipped them to his parents and sister, who by now had resettled in Illinois. Seeds and slips collected in Oklahoma found their way to his parents' garden.[13] Forty years later, Jackson was still collecting samples of natural history, but by then he was sending these to the Smithsonian Institution rather than to his family.

Jackson resigned his post with the Board of Foreign Missions in August 1859 and took an assignment with the Board of Home Missions in La Crescent, Minnesota. As home missionary to La Crescent and vicinity, Jackson began to set up churches at a feverish pace and to minister to

anyone who might listen. The eager young missionary went so far as to post a sign at the ferry landing just outside La Crescent inviting Presbyterian immigrants moving west to leave their names and destinations with him so that he could look after their spiritual needs.[14]

Jackson, interpreting the word "vicinity" very broadly, roamed over some thirteen thousand square miles, and rode hundreds of miles each week to set up new churches or visit ones he had already established. It was these first years of wandering that earned him the title of "bishop of all beyond" from his contemporaries.[15] Paying no attention to county or state lines, Jackson went to any village he felt was in need of the gospel, thus beginning a lifetime of travel away from home. Mary often wrote to Jackson's parents and sister expressing chagrin at her husband's absences.[16] Away from the warm southern climate, Jackson was in his element. The cold and snow of Minnesota seemed only to strengthen his slight physique and nourish further his natural stubbornness and determination.

The American Civil War (1861-1865) stymied Jackson's efforts at founding churches and raising funds, a situation that may have led him to join the U.S. Christian Commission to assist in "distributing stores where needed...[and] visiting the sick and injured."[17] In August 1863, Jackson traveled to Tennessee, where for two months he ministered to the spiritual and physical needs of soldiers from both North and South. Jackson resigned his post with the commission in November when word of illness at home compelled him to return to La Crescent.

In 1864, Jackson was assigned as co-pastor to a church in Rochester, Minnesota, a position which he held until 1869. In Rochester Jackson helped establish the Rochester Female Institute, where he taught mathematics for no salary, and enlisted the aid of Christian women to support missionaries. While the time in Rochester was full and productive, it was relatively sedentary. Jackson longed to return to the more mobile life of an intinerant missionary, and accordingly, in 1869 accepted with enthusiasum an appointment to the position of Superintendent of Missions for the Synod of Iowa, a job which allowed him to travel a large area.[18]

It is uncertain whether Jackson did any significant collecting during his time in Minnesota. Fund-raising lectures on the East Coast and a few descriptive letters to Sabbath school groups bear evidence that Jackson still maintained an interest in the world around him; and, since his far-ranging parish touched on Indian Territory it is conceivable that he gathered artifacts and specimens as he had in Oklahoma. Perhaps someday there will emerge personal letters or notes pointing to Jackson's interests in natural history and ethnography during his ten years in Minnesota. For now it can only be assumed, based on evidence of his earlier habits and activities, and those following, that Jackson continued collecting during the years of 1859-1869.

By 1869, with the Civil War over and the Transcontinental Railroad recently completed, Americans turned their attention to settling the vast territory between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean. A man of foresight, Jackson realized that the westward movement would soon bring thousands of people to the unsettled lands of the Iowa Synod. Not surprisingly, then, Jackson's first goal as Superintendent of Missions was to establish missions, churches and schools along the route of the Transcontinental Railroad and all points reached by it. Soon, too, the focus of Jackson's collecting, like the object of his missionary work, shifted westward.

CHAPTER 3

"God Blesses Aggressiveness"

The Synod of Iowa encompassed "western Iowa, Nebraska, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming and Utah or as far as the jurisdiction extends." Not one to interpret literally his appointments, Jackson had within a year added Colorado to his territory, and, by the end of the 1870s, New Mexico, Arizona, Washington, and Alaska as well. As was his pattern, Jackson, in expanding his responsibilities, acted "independently of, but not in opposition to the Board of Domestic Missions."

Setting up twenty-two churches and traveling twenty-nine thousand miles between 1869 and early 1870, Jackson wasted no time in stretching the Presbyterian Church across the continent.[1] After a year in Iowa, Jackson moved his wife and two daughters to Denver, soon to be the center of the newly formed Colorado Synod. Establishing churches in areas to which he had not been assigned and sending missionaries to places he—rather than the church—felt they should be, Jackson frustrated his superiors and angered his enemies. Often castigated for acting before he had permission to do so, Jackson defended himself by writing: "God blesses aggressiveness. We need to cultivate an aggressive spirit."

To win over critics, who felt his rush to set up churches in the Rocky Mountain area resulted in neglect of those established earlier, Jackson, in the early 1870s, worked to prove his credibility as a Presbyterian missionary. First, he drew upon his personal adventures and those of his fellow missionaries scattered throughout the West. Starting in 1872 he published these tales in his own newspaper, *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, and also shared them with the public via well-attended lectures. Second, following annual church and education meetings he began arranging trips to the West for members of both the Board of Home Missions and the numerous education associations to which he belonged. Finally, Jackson began sending to potential donors back East objects collected from the people and environments among whom he and his missionaries worked.

Jackson solicited funds for his ministry from the very first issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*. Already aware of the potential power of women in the church, Jackson asked for $5 each from five thousand Presbyterian

women to finance the construction of a church in Salt Lake City, Utah. When the return fell far short of his goal, Jackson simply reduced the size of the church and hoped for more support later.[2]

Jackson also used the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* as a forum to promote his Native American programs. In the hope of gaining the attention—and financial assistance—of the U.S. government, Jackson began "marketing" areas to Congress. In the April 1876 issue of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, for instance, Jackson wrote: "Arizona will be a rich section and more populated than Colorado or New Mexico... It has been kept back by the Apache Indians and want of railway communication. But a short time will change this."[3] In informing his readers about the economic potential of this area, Jackson hoped that his work would benefit indirectly from the money Congress might allocate for the region.

The *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* succeeded not only in gaining moral and financial support for Jackson and the Woman's Board of Home Missions, but it also afforded Jackson the opportunity to share his interests in the different cultures he encountered. For example, the April 1876 issue cited above, also contained a long letter from Jackson describing the ruins of Casa Grande and the "relics, statues, historical paintings, etc., of the old Catholic Church in Tucson."[4]

Such stories made "good press," capturing readers' interest and it was hoped their donations, and revealed Jackson as a man in tune with and fascinated by the world around him. Even though Jackson was dedicated to changing the Native American way of life, his interest in and appreciation for their cultures manifested itself in his writings as well as his collecting.

In addition to writing, Jackson took advantage of his own enthusiasm and interests to arrange trips to scenic and remote parts of the Colorado Synod for members of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The purpose of these trips was to bolster his projects and goals. As early as 1871, Jackson arranged for reduced train fares to Denver and the surrounding area for Secretary of the Home Board, Henry Kendall, and other church notables. In showing off the Colorado Synod, Jackson hoped to impress upon visitors the rugged land and living conditions and highlight the possibilities for religious and secular development in the region.[5]

Realizing that not all potential donors could come west, Jackson employed a third technique, namely sending east "premiums" in the form of objects from the cultures in which he came in contact. Sometimes Jackson's premium plan backfired. In November 1878, for instance, Jackson received a letter from Mr. Robert Davis of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, complaining about some items on which he had to pay postage. Mr. Davis felt there was no value to the "unsightly pottery" and wanted to know how to get rid of it. A year later the poor man was still fretting about what to do with the "crock or flower pot from the Pueblos." He felt that if Jackson had only sent "something descriptive of it, how made, & c. ...I might have made a talk about it to the school, but as it is, it has thus far proved dead stock in the interest of missions."[6] In spite of problems like this, to the end of his career Jackson continued giving gifts and premiums to garner support for his missions and projects.

It is probable that Jackson began collecting Native American objects and natural history specimens on his first visits to the Southwest in 1870, but no record exists of any early finds. The first mention of the pottery and curios acquired from southwest Indians is an article in the April 1876 issue of the Rocky Mountain Presbyterian in which Jackson describes a visit to the Pima Agency at Casa Grande in Arizona. "I secured a good specimen of Pima pottery,

and small basket," Jackson writes, "also an ancient stone axe."[7] It is unclear whether Jackson kept these earliest objects for his own enjoyment, or whether he used them as premiums for Eastern contributors, or (later) donated them to the Princeton Theological Seminary.

By the late 1870s, Jackson's long-time interests in collecting objects and studying unfamiliar cultures became more serious. As early as 1876, there is evidence of a growing interest in Jackson's collecting on the part of Princeton Theological Seminary and the Smithsonian Institution. Princeton glaciologist Arnold Guyot, a friend of Jackson's, thanked the missionary for books and documents about Colorado, and sent a letter introducing Jackson to Spencer Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian.[8] In addition, throughout 1877 letters from missionaries and teachers in Colorado, Arizona and New Mexico refer to Jackson's request for specimens and relics from the Southwest.[9]

It may have been Spencer Baird who recommended Jackson to Smithsonian photographer W. H. Jackson in 1877 as a good source for information and objects to include in the "model cities" project that W. H. Jackson was assembling for the Smithsonian. Jackson the photographer recruited Jackson the missionary to send photographs, pottery, figurines, blankets, and a "good many pieces of fineware," for display in the model villages from the Southwest.[10]

Amateurs as well as professionals requested Jackson to collect. For example, Mrs. Henry Kendall, who had accompanied her husband along with Sheldon and Mary Jackson on a trip to Arizona and New Mexico in the fall of 1877, often wrote to Jackson asking him to send her objects; Mrs. Kendall's letters began in 1878 and continued into the 1890s.

Mrs. Kendall, while closely involved with mission work, seemed more interested in acquiring objects produced by Native Americans than in following the progress of their Christianization. "Was glad you secured a blanket before the race became extinct—or so Christianized as not to make good blankets," Mrs. Kendall wrote to Jackson in 1878, and two years later, "but you see, I want the Ola [sic], and let the others who do not want it build the churches and houses."[11] While Jackson may have admonished Mrs. Kendall for using her money to purchase artifacts instead of donating it to help his causes, he continued to fulfill her requests for Native American artifacts.

By the late 1870s, Jackson was receiving letters from people inquiring about the possibility of selling curios. In 1879, William Meyer of Phoenix, Arizona, wrote Jackson for advice on locating objects from "the ancient ruins of the [Arizona] territory" to sell on the East Coast as a way to raise funds for missions out west. Meyer told Jackson he had heard of others raising money this way and wondered if Jackson himself had engaged in this practice.[12] Later that same year, Jackson received a similar inquiry from a Miss Spencer in Pennsylvania, this time about objects from Alaska. "Could not some arrangement be made by which [jewelry and carvings] could be sold for the benefit of the Mission or by which our own Societies could get them to have for sale?" Miss Spencer asked.[13] While it's conceivable that Jackson had already considered this approach, he apparently sensed no need to change to a retail system, possibly since his premium system was already serving the purpose of bringing in a good deal of money. At any rate, the idea of selling artifacts for fund-raising did not become an actuality for Jackson until the 1890s, by which time he had established his own museum in Sitka.

By 1879, Jackson's habit of seeking, trading, and acquiring artifacts had grown to the point where the establishment of a permanent collection seemed both logical and necessary.

Jackson contacted William H. Roberts, custodian of the library-museum at Princeton Theological Seminary, offering to provide the museum with a "cabinet of Indian, Aztec and other curiosities." Mr. Roberts thanked Jackson for the offer, and indicated the seminary's willingness to "...name [the collection] as you desire, The Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection."[14]

Jackson may have had any variety of reasons for establishing a cabinet at Princeton. Maybe his motives were egocentric: a collection bearing his name would mean that his work in the mission field would always be remembered. Maybe he recalled his 1857 visit with Mr. Bush, the missionary to Siam from whose own cabinet of curios Jackson had personally "learned more than ever before of [Siamese] customs, dress, etc."[15] Maybe the religious resurgence sweeping the nation in the late 1870s induced Jackson to offer a collection of artifacts to Princeton Theological Seminary, in order to encourage young men to channel their religious enthusiasm toward mission work. Whatever the reasons, Jackson was genuinely interested in setting up a place where he could preserve the fruits of his collecting.

Lack of time on Jackson's part and lack of information from his sources combined possibly with the lack of knowledge concerning the importance of providing data, resulted in the briefest of documentation being supplied on the objects. This pattern of minimal information on objects was to become a standard in Jackson's collecting.

The number of Southwest pieces in the Princeton collection is relatively small, especially when compared to the quantity of Alaska artifacts. Among the Southwest pieces are buffalo horn spoons, pottery, and a few objects acquired from the Plains Indians. Just as Jackson was sending artifacts to Princeton for inclusion in his cabinet of curiosities in the early 1880s, his interests and efforts were beginning to turn toward Alaska. Indeed, from 1881 on, he spent his summers in the North, leaving the Southwest to other missionaries. Yet another transition had begun in the life of a missionary-collector who thrived on the challenge of new mission fields.

CHAPTER 4

"If I Can't be First, I Will be Foremost"

The story of Sheldon Jackson's collecting in Alaska must be told within the framework of his larger purpose for being in Alaska: the assimilation of Alaska Natives into Western culture. There would be no story to tell of artifacts and collecting adventures if this stubborn, often insubordinate, missionary had not followed his life's goal of "uplifting" the aboriginal people of America.

In the late 1870s Jackson realized that not much was being done to promote settlement in Alaska. The United States had purchased the Russian colony in 1867 and sent troops there to ensure a smooth transition from Russian to American rule. Unfortunately even after ten years, little else had been done for the new or the original inhabitants of Alaska.

Jackson considered the far north a place ripe for the "Lord's work," that is, the education and Christian conversion of the Native population.[1] Jackson once wrote to his supervisors in the Rocky Mountain Region admonishing them to "send him teachers and not preachers."[2] Jackson was quite progressive in his educational theory: he felt that if the Native people first learned the white man's life-style through concrete educational experiences, the next logical step would be for them to accept the more abstract concepts of religion.

In his book, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast,* published in 1881, Jackson noted that even as early as 1869, he "had often thought of that distant section of our country, and the vague hope would cross my mind that I might yet be permitted to go there."[3] Not until 1877, however, when he escorted Amanda McFarland, a friend and first woman teacher, to Wrangell, did Jackson have his first opportunity to visit Alaska. As was often the case, Jackson took on this new mission under his own responsibility. He never had permission from the Board of Home Missions to go to Alaska, let alone set up a mission.

The only attempt to establish a Protestant mission in Alaska since the transfer from Russia had been at Wrangell in the spring of 1877. The Presbytery of Oregon, the headquarters for the Presbyterian Church in the Northwest and the nearest Presbytery to Alaska, had sent a missionary to Wrangell, but on account of failing health the man returned to Portland within a few months. There followed, according to Jackson, a period in which, "the churches slept and mission boards waited..."[4]

This was the opportunity to visit Alaska for which Jackson had been waiting.

Nor did Jackson wait long. Passing through Portland in 1877, he ran into an old missionary friend from Santa Fe, Amanda McFarland. Acting outside of church channels, Jackson convinced her to go to Fort Wrangell as an unofficial representative of the Presbyterian Church and begin a school, and offered himself as her escort. Having set his mind on seeing Alaska and establishing a mission system there, Jackson saw in his friendship with Amanda McFarland the opportunity for which he had been waiting. While not the first Presbyterian missionary in Alaska, Jackson would emerge as the foremost.

Jackson's first trip to Alaska lasted only a few weeks and focused on getting Amanda McFarland settled into her school. In the spring of 1878, he arranged for the Board of Home Missions to send John G. Brady to Fort Wrangell as the first official missionary-preacher.[5] Jackson had sown the seed of a Presbyterian Mission in Alaska. He returned to Colorado from where he again employed several sure-fire methods of educating the public about his current projects: publications, lectures and trips to the sites.

Amanda McFarland's letters to Jackson, described the "barbarism" of the Native population and pleaded for aid. The letters made sensational copy in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* and other church publications.[6] In addition, Jackson's lecture circuit had grown and had become one of his favorite and most fruitful means of publicizing efforts to establish missions and schools. Maps, drawings, and artifacts from Alaska began to enhance his lectures more than ever. And his third method of public consciousness-raising—arranging educational sight-seeing tours—began only two years after his first trip to Alaska in 1877. Following this first visit, Jackson's plan of offering a cabinet of curiosities to the Princeton Theological Seminary grew into reality. As noted in the previous chapter, "the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection did not come into existence until 1879, just prior to his second Alaska visit."[7] Jackson's interest in Native Americans increased following his first brief—but memorable—encounter with the people of Alaska. His intellectual curiosity as well as his missionary zeal began shifting from the Southwest toward Alaska. Although still assigned to work in the Rocky Mountain region, Jackson arranged with the Board of Home Missions for John G. Brady to join Amanda McFarland in Wrangell.

Brady and Mrs. McFarland were the first of many teachers and missionaries in Alaska who collected for Jackson during the next twenty-five years, gathering objects for Princeton, world expositions, the Sitka museum, support gifts, and Jackson's private collection. Jackson and his field workers did not collect to deprive their potential converts of traditional objects which some missionaries felt slowed conversion. Certainly there may have been individuals who practiced this, but realistically most of the missionaries had no money to spare for such purchases nor the inclination to do so. Jackson, on the other hand, did have funds available but was not so naive as to think he could buy off or change Native customs by depleting their material culture. His personal interest in Native cultures and his confidence in education for effecting change would have stopped him short of this sort of "bribery."

Instead, Jackson had his missionaries and teachers buy or trade for his newly founded cabinet at Princeton University Theological Seminary. The objects were used to educate and inspire potential missionaries.

Shortly after Brady's arrival, Mrs. McFarland wrote that a number of recent Tlingit converts performed a traditional dance for the two missionaries and on its completion presented them with their musical instruments because

Dr. Sheldon Jackson third from the left. The other people are not positively identified, but may be Mrs. Henry Kendall, Mary Jackson, Henry Kendall with the final man not identified. This may have been taken in 1879 when they traveled to Alaska to inspect the newly established missions in Wrangell and Sitka. Photo courtesy ofthe Department ofHistory and Records Managment Services, Presbyterian Church, Philadelphia #265.

"they had no further use of them."[8] If these ended up in the Princeton collection, it would now be impossible to verify. Unfortunately, the Princeton records indicate only the arrival dates and occasionally points of origin for artifacts from Jackson and his collectors. Mrs. McFarland mentions in this same letter she also received a "black and finely carved mountain sheep horn spoon."[9] Undoubtedly, this object and others she collected during 1878 came to her under similar circumstances—as gifts.

The items amassed by missionaries and teachers contributed greatly to Sheldon Jackson's collections around the country; unfortunately, random collecting and shipping of artifacts resulted in nightmares for modern curators.[10] Jackson's own collecting became relatively more systematic during his years in Alaska; however, many of the people who gathered for him neglected to record the use, location, or even acquisition date of the objects they accumulated. In later years Jackson occasionally attempted to label objects sent to him with their source or the name of the field collector who sent them.

While Jackson encouraged his collectors to accept artifacts as gifts he became aware of the necessity of paying for them. As Douglas Cole notes in his book *Captured Heritage*, by the late 1870s the "scramble" for Northwest Coast artifacts was well underway: prices were rising and shrewd Tlingit traders were holding out for the best offers.[11] In July 1878, Jackson received a letter from Brady telling him to "expect no curiosities from this country without paying for them because the Native can get good cash prices whenever he chooses to sell."[12] The necessity to pay higher prices for Alaska items than for objects from the Southwest did not deter Jackson from developing his missionary cabinet of curiosities for Princeton.

Throughout 1878, Jackson pushed the Board of Home Missions to help the missionaries in Alaska and began what turned out to be a life-long struggle to increase the government's awareness of the needs of all Alaskans. The *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

published his own and Mrs. McFarland's first-hand observations of the remote territory. Periodicals began to publish Jackson's articles on Alaska, thereby expanding his audience of potential supporters. The newspaper publicity made the general public more aware of what Jackson saw in Alaska, but he needed to reach those in high places to implement his long-range plans for bringing a judicial system and other benefits of government assistance—specifically education—to Alaska.

In order to gain the attention of powerful legislators to his ideas, Jackson returned to the ploy of offering travel. His first Alaska venture brought a working tour group to Southeast Alaska in the summer of 1879. Although unsuccessful in attracting representatives from Congress and the Department of Education, Jackson was able to engage Henry Kendall the Secretary of the Board of Home Missions and Dr. A. L. Lindsley leader of the Presbytery of the Columbia, and their wives for the first tour; they were joined by Jackson's wife, Mary, and Miss M. J. Dunbar, a missionary teacher bound for Fort Wrangell. Jackson reasoned that if Kendall and Lindsley could see what had been accomplished in two years, and what yet needed to be done, they would be willing to continue and increase missionary efforts in Alaska.

When Jackson's party boarded the mail steamer, *California*, on July 9, 1879, one of their fellow passengers was famed naturalist John Muir on his way to investigate Alaska's glaciers.

Arriving in Fort Wrangell on the 14th and taking time only to unload supplies for the mission, the boat continued to Sitka for a quick tour of that town and the Presbyterian mission established there in 1878 by John Brady who had moved to Sitka from Wrangell.[13]

During this trip, an interesting incident occurred at Old Stickeen, a former Tlingit village a dozen miles south of Ft. Wrangell. John Muir recorded the incident in his account of the trip, *Travels in Alaska*.[14] Upon reaching the village, Muir stayed with the group only a short time before striking out on his own to observe the surrounding area. Hearing what sounded like the chopping and felling of a tree, Muir return to the site to find that Jackson, in Muir's words "the most eager of the relic hunters," had requested the steamer's deck hands cut down "...one of the most interesting of the totems...with the view to take it on East to enrich some museum or other."[15] As Muir tells it, the group's Tlingit guide Kadashan, whose clan claimed ownership of the fallen pole, asked Jackson: "How would you like to have an Indian go to a graveyard and break down and carry away a monument belonging to your family?" While Kadashan's query did not stop him from shipping the pole to Princeton the incident may have made Jackson more cautious about his methods of collecting.[16] Kadashan, a recent convert to Presbyterianism, accepted Jackson's gifts and apologies and allowed him to ship the pole away.[17]

Indeed this incident may have changed Jackson's collecting habits and also his writing. In the Southwest he had written openly about engaging in flagrant "pot hunting," after coming to Alaska, Jackson stopped writing publicly about taking objects from grave sites and abandoned villages, mentioning only objects that were purchased or given to him. The Stickeen incident may have taught him that if an object was not given as a gift, it must be paid for in some manner if at all possible.[18] In this respect Jackson was more ethical than scientists such as Franz Boaz and George T. Emmons who swept through the Northwest and Alaska taking large portions of their collections from grave sites.[19]

On returning to Fort Wrangell the visiting dignitaries were honored with celebrations and dinners. According to several accounts, the Natives performed ceremonies and dances and at the end gave away objects to the audience. Several in Jackson's party mentioned receiving artifacts. Some were presented with robes made

from animal skins, while Muir and others received headdresses. According to Jackson, Toy-a-att [sic], one of the local chiefs, lay down his war-spear and armor in the middle of the room saying, "I fight no more. I give up my spear."[20] Although there is no record of who became the new owner of Toy-a-att's spear and armor, there is an example of Tlingit armor in the Sheldon Jackson collection at Princeton.[21] On the other hand, nowhere to be found is the "wooden figure of a whale ten feet long" which Jackson claimed to have been presented with during this trip.[22]

The ceremonies Jackson attended were indicative of cultural upheaval and of the changing attitudes of some of the Native population which made objects available. According to one Wrangell chief, the giving away of cultural objects to missionaries, marked the change from "...how we use to do before the white men came.... Now we know better, and use them for the last time."[23] Increasingly Native people felt they must put aside their own ways in order to participate successfully in the rapidly encroaching white culture. Some, while outwardly changing their appearances, clung to the important symbols of their culture, while others like Toy-at-att, adopted the new lifestyle and religion quickly, giving up attitudes as well as material symbols of the old life. In an 1880 letter to Jackson, Mr. C. T. Tate of Bella Bella, British Columbia, reports that "we have been anxious to get [curios] ourselves, but strangely have never seen the least trace of any since we came. Some we know have burnt them. If there are any yet in the village they have hidden them."[24] Working closely with the Native people, Jackson developed an appreciation and understanding for certain aspects of the cultures he participated in changing. This is not to say he felt the Natives should continue to live as they always had. His own strong religious, and pragmatic Northeastern beliefs would never have allowed him to think in those terms. He, like Native rights activist Alice Fletcher, believed that if Native Americans were to survive at all, they must learn to live in the white man's way through education and Christianizing. Jackson fought—and won—to keep the Natives of Alaska from being herded onto reservations as he had seen done in the Southwest.[25]

A portion of a mortuary pole which John Muir described as the one taken at Old Stickeen in 1879 by Jackson is now located at the Princeton Art Museum. Photo courtesy of the Art Museum, Princeton University, PU 5210. Photo by Bruce M. White.

Jackson was well aware of the changes affecting Alaska's Natives. His collecting, instead of a means of destroying culture, became an integral part of his plan to "save" the Native people of Alaska. By using artifacts to draw attention to Alaska, he was able to win legislative and financial support increasing his education programs designed to assimilate Natives into the American mainstream. The great paradox of Jackson's time in Alaska was that even as he sought to change the way of life of Alaska Natives, he worked to preserve elements of their traditional material culture.

Sheldon Jackson ca. 1880

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER 5

The Napoleon of Alaska

In the early 1880s all aspects of Sheldon Jackson's life, including collecting, turned toward increasing the nation's awareness of the needs of its newest land acquisition—Alaska. Jackson believed publicity would make Congress take responsibility for its Alaskan "stepchild." No territorial government had been established after the 1867 purchase; during this time a Collector of Customs, the United States Revenue Cutter Service, and the United States Navy represented the entirety of law and order in Alaska.[1]

Like others of his day, Jackson felt strongly that civil government would bring stability and security to the inhabitants of Alaska. Following his second trip to Alaska in 1879, Jackson appeared before a congressional subcommittee to report on conditions he saw there. He told the congressmen: "We need a governor for an executive...a judge for the courts...and a superintendent of public instructions."[2] With this testimony Jackson had launched his campaign to bring "civilization" to Alaska. His reputation for getting what he wanted for Alaska led to his introduction to President Chester A. Arthur as "the Napoleon of the Presbyterian Church in Alaska."[3]

Unfortunately, an 1880 education bill for Alaska failed to win congressional approval. Following this setback, over the next four years Jackson fell back on all of his old tricks to gain government support for Alaska: articles in the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, lectures, touring, and gift-giving to supporters. Jackson attempted to reach a broader audience in this period with the publication of his only complete book, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast*. The book played upon the sympathies of the American public, with drawings and photos of "heathens" practicing shamanism, gambling, and mistreatment of women and children. Jackson maintained this sort of sensationalism in a veritable flood of articles, all of which fueled empathy for the neglected Alaskans and feelings of dissatisfaction toward federal treatment of Native Americans. In his writing, Jackson urged the government to "redeem" itself for a "Century of Dishonor," and chided Congress for having fallen behind even the Russians in their treatment of the Native people. He claimed that the United States had replaced the relatively civilized Czarist regime in Alaska with a "frontier experience of economic exploitation, alcoholism, and general social degeneracy."[4]

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

On the other hand, *Alaska Missions* itself is hardly an unbiased look at Alaska and its people: it is full of Jackson's duplicity toward Native cultures. Illustrations on one page depict and praise Native arts and crafts and Native "talent for carving in wood and bone," while later pages depict scenes designed to shock readers and prejudice them against other Native traditions.[5]

Despite his editorial tactics there is little question that Jackson understood the necessity of learning about a people before any effective changes could take place. His publications were read across the country; people began looking toward Jackson as the "expert" on Alaska. He corresponded with numerous collectors and explorers in Alaska in his efforts to teach the entire country about Alaska. Through a full calendar of lectures Jackson brought Alaska to the public, and held his audience rapt with a huge map of Alaska, lantern slides, artifacts, and a "forceful delivery style."[6]

Jackson's official church position transferred to the East Coast in 1882 when he turned over the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* to the Board of Home Missions. He continued running the paper, now known as the *Presbyterian Home Mission*, while increasing pressure on Congress. Speaking to large groups, he drove home the idea that the Russians had done more in the way of educating and "uplifting" the Alaska Natives than the American government. In 1883, he gained the attention of a strong and influential group—the National Education Association.[8] At the annual meeting of this group, Jackson urged the membership and its state affiliates to flood Congress with letters and petitions demanding the establishment of a civil government for Alaska and the creation of the position of "general agent of education" responsible for providing "public education for all children" in Alaska. Jackson, who hoped to assimilate the Native population of Alaska and avoid reservations there, wanted to establish industrial training schools for Native children.[9]

Jackson's efforts eventually paid off. Led by Senator Benjamin Harrison, Congress passed the Organic Act of 1884 creating a badly needed civil government for Alaska. Jackson immediately launched a campaign for his own appointment as General Agent of Education for Alaska. He brought 150 of the nation's top educators to Southeast Alaska following the passage of the 1884 Act.[10] Listening to Jackson's daily narrative on Alaska during the train trip across country to the West Coast and then seeing firsthand the problems in Alaska helped win Jackson considerable support. Jackson was so confident of his appointment that a full year before it was official, he signed some of his correspondence, "Sheldon Jackson, General Agent of Education for Alaska."[11] With the backing of the National Education Association the "Napoleon of the North" achieved his goal of gaining control of the educational system in Alaska. Notice of his appointment as general agent came in April of 1885.[12]

During this period of accelerated lobbying and public relations lectures, articles, and personal contacts, Jackson often turned to the cabinet of curiosities at Princeton University, which housed his growing collection of Alaskan artifacts. Although he had initially created the cabinet as a way to arouse the interest of potential missionaries, having an entire collection of Alaskan objects so close at hand also provided Jackson with important visual tools for educating Congress and gaining its support.

Ironically, the "Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection" grew so dramatically after Jackson's first trips to Alaska that the seminary began to reconsider its interest in accepting the growing stream of artifacts. William H. Roberts, custodian of the seminary's museum,

wrote to Jackson in the spring of 1881 wondering whether, if money were available, Jackson would assemble "for the college of New Jersey, [*i. e.* Princeton University] a collection illustrating the life &c. of the American Indians" and "consent to transfer the valuable articles in the care of the Seminary to the college?"[13]

W. Henry Green, a seminary professor, wrote Jackson in May of the same year, explaining that due to lack of funds to exhibit properly and expand the collection, the seminary could no longer house it; Green agreed with Roberts that Jackson's cabinet should be transferred to the college. Even though Green felt the cabinet was an excellent means of illustrating the condition of "pagan" lands to seminary students and was an asset to the seminary, he pointed out there was no way to continue housing the collection. In June of 1881, Jackson visited his old friend Arnold Guyot, professor of geology at Princeton, conferring "at leisure about the transfer" of the collection.[14]

Caleb S. Green, a trustee of both the seminary and the college, affirmed in a letter to Jackson that the cabinet would be moved, that it would be cared for by Professor Guyot, and that it would retain the name "Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection." Green pointed out to Jackson that by moving the artifacts to the college, they could be better exhibited, preserved, and viewed by visitors as well as students of both institutions. Whether or not Jackson actually authorized the move, no doubt he was pleased by the possibility that improved assessibility to the collection could result in increased recognition and support for himself and his Alaska projects.[15]

Mr. Green also offered Jackson $500 to continue collecting for Princeton University.[16] With the $500 for artifacts and the fact that his collection would now be available to a potentially influential public, Jackson returned to Alaska in the summer of 1881 with a renewed zeal for collecting. Whereas his collecting efforts earlier had been limited somewhat by his unwillingness to pay the high prices being asked by the local Tlingit, now that he had someone else's money in his pocket, Jackson set out to buy whatever he could get his hands on.[17]

The "scramble" for Northwest Coast artifacts was well under way, however. The Smithsonian Institution had recruited John J. McLean of the United States Signal Corps, stationed in Sitka, to collect for them. Ironically, McLean, representing one of the most influential and powerful museums in the United States, had only $30 with which to make a collection. In a letter to Spencer Baird, secretary of the Smithsonian, McLean complained about Jackson's "flying visit to Sitka on his way to Chilcat [sic] to establish a mission there, and while in Sitka bought everything nearly, in the line of specimens, especially stone, bone, and arms, paying $200 for the same."[18] This collection, purchased from John G. Brady, who had been collecting since arriving in Alaska in 1878, appears to be the single largest purchase for Jackson in the summer of 1881.

Besides the missionaries and tourists competing for Northwest Coast curiosities, representatives from museums around the world were beginning to show up on the Northwest Coast. Germans Arthur and Aurel Krause spent the winter of 1881-82 at the Chilkat village to study Tlingit culture and gather artifacts for the Berlin museum. Also collecting for this same museum was Paul Schultze of the Northwest Trading Company. Prices rose, but missionaries in outlying areas might still have been able to find a few bargains, or so reasoned McLean and Jackson. McLean decided to ask the missionary to the Chilkat, Eugene Willard, to collect for him, only to find that Dr. Jackson had already enlisted the missionary's aid in collecting for the Princeton cabinet.[19]

Jackson, always eager to acquire information, had written to Smithsonian Secretary Spencer Baird in October of 1881 requesting a recently published Smithsonian work. Apparently impressed with Jackson's drive and collecting efforts, Baird responded by formally inviting Jackson to collect for the Smithsonian. Flattering the missionary by saying how long he had wanted to recruit him, Baird pointed out to Jackson that "nowhere so well as in Washington will these things [*i. e.* artifacts] come under the notice of our lawgivers and the best portion of the American population."[20]

It is interesting that Jackson did not succumb wholeheartedly to Baird's tempting offer. He may have suspected that items collected for the Smithsonian would disappear among the numerous artifacts at that institution, thereby losing any connection to him and his Alaskan work. In contrast, the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, at Princeton would continue to bring publicity and attention to him and his work. Over the next two decades Jackson contributed occasionally to one of the Smithsonian museums, usually donating plant or animal specimens rather than ethnological objects, which he reserved for other institutions and purposes.[21]

Modern critics have characterized Jackson's collecting during this period as being like that of a "vacuum cleaner," with him and his associates picking up anything in their path.[22] While there is certainly some accuracy in this statement, correspondence between Jackson and his field workers suggests that he was trying to assemble a representational group of objects.[23] Still, Jackson was hardly a systematic collector who determined the exact needs to make a well-rounded collection; rather, he could be better described as a selective "vacuum cleaner" who often went after specific objects and incidentally "sucked up" whatever else might happen to be in the vicinity.

In addition to Willard at the Chilkat mission, Jackson's collection efforts were assisted by missionary J. Loomis Gould. Gould and his wife, Rebecca, arrived in Alaska in the spring of 1882 to take over religious duties at the Haida village of Howkan. Jackson, of course, enlisted them to collect for him.[24]

Gould continued to collect for Jackson even after the initial rush to fill the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, at Princeton had ended around 1885; later he attented to collect for the Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology, the founding organization of the Sheldon Jackson Museum. He wrote Jackson saying he "could purchase small imitations of the different totems" ranging in price from $8 to $20.[25] Unfortunately, the old lament of Gould and other collectors continued to be the lack of artifacts and how their high prices contributed to why none of the objects ever showed up in the Sitka museum.

Gould's main contribution to Jackson's collecting was his Haida connection. There are a large number of Haida pieces in the Princeton collection, none of which can be attributed directly to Gould since all objects coming into Princeton came in under Jackson's name. Because the objects are listed as being from the Prince of Wales area and coincide with the times Gould collected for Jackson, at least some of the Haida artifacts must have actually been collected by Loomis Gould.

The Chilkat mission (soon to be named Haines by Jackson) came under the care of missionary Eugene Willard and his wife, Carrie, in the summer of 1881. The Willards' official job was to organize a church and keep the school open, but unofficial requests had them collecting for the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection at Princeton. While visiting Sitka, Willard told Smithsonian representative John J. McLean that he would be unable to collect for him because of his commitment to

collect for the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection.[26]

Working with Native converts such as Sarah Dickinson, and Louis and Tillie Paul, who acted as interpreters, the Willards added a number of objects to the collection. Moccasins, mittens, and a stone carving were acquired through Mrs. Dickinson in 1882, and about $20 worth of objects, including headgear from a shaman's secret box, from Louis Paul in the summer of 1883. Early one morning, an "old Indian doctor" led Mr. Paul to the isolated spot where the box lay hidden. Louis was charged what Mrs. Willard considered an outrageous price of $2. The price was high "because he had walked so far and the people must not know that he took him [Louis] there, the Indian would not touch the things." Mrs. Willard may have been willing to help Jackson collect, but she had little use for the objects being collected, "its [not] worth any more than the other ugly trinkets."[27]

The Willards continued to do a limited amount of collecting for their missionary superintendent until they left Alaska in 1894. Their contribution, while small in terms of number, was significant because it included objects which local "Chilkats" had obtained through commerce with the inland Tlingit and Athabaskan. Trade items between Alaska Natives added another dimension to the assortment of Southeast Alaskan artifacts in the Princeton collection.

There is no record of any pieces gathered by the Willards ending up in the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka; a number of objects there are undocumented as to collector, but in the early years of the Museum, many people brought in items and the possibility of the original collector not being credited was high. Sheldon Jackson, though always appreciative of those who collected for him, managed in most instances to take the credit for many of the objects coming into his collections. His characteristic signature, "Presented by Sheldon Jackson," showed up on thousands of objects that are now in museums around the country.[28] Most likely the Willards' finds were exhibited at Princeton or at one of the several World Expositions which featured Jackson's artifacts.

John G. Brady probably contributed the greatest number of objects to the collection at Princeton. Upon leaving the mission field in 1880, Brady began a successful trading and shipping business based in Sitka. While traveling around Southeast Alaska, as well as the Aleutian Islands, and other areas yet unvisited by Jackson, Brady tried to get objects at the lowest possible prices but ran into the same problem as other collectors: high prices due to high demand. Jackson complained about the high prices but continued to pay, well aware the price of objects would only go up and not down.

Arriving in Sitka in the summer of 1881, Jackson purchased from Brady items specifically for the Princeton collection.[29] Sensing the importance of getting in on the rush for Native materials, Brady had begun collecting local arts and crafts, initially to sell to the growing tourist market, but later to expand a personal collection; throughout his time in Alaska, he continued to make objects available to Jackson.

The fact that Jackson, asked specifically for baskets and "many curio carvings in wood" which Brady had available, indicates that his collecting was becoming more selective.[30] Brady's letters to Jackson in 1883 and 1884 reveal that Jackson had instructed him to make a collection of baskets. Brady wrote to Jackson "I shall make the collection of baskets for Princeton as complete as possible."[31] Like the contributions of many who collected for Jackson in the early years, the majority of Brady's specimens went to the Princeton collection, with only a limited number of ethnographic pieces ending up in the Sheldon Jackson Museum.

These requests from Jackson suggest he was at least making an effort to have a varied sample

of Northwest Coast artifacts in the Princeton collection. It is generally accepted that Jackson took no note of what he was collecting. For example, in his book, *Captured Heritage,* Douglas Cole believes that Jackson had no method or plan for collecting and cites a letter from Jackson to Brady in July of 1882 in which Jackson reportedly said "new wood carving [were] as good as old." Cole also assumes that "Much of the collection consisted of poor tourist pieces, probably made by Native students at Sitka's Sheldon Jackson Institute workshops."[32]

Granted, some of Brady's material may have been tourist pieces, but they did not come from the Sheldon Jackson Institute—a building and grounds for that facility did not come into existence until later that year.[33] During the spring of 1882, Jackson had written Brady asking him to collect more wood carvings for him, presumably following Jackson's talk with Professor Guyot on the types of objects needed for the collection. Jackson, wanting to increase the collection as Guyot had suggested, directed Brady to set aside wood carvings—new or old—that would be representative of Tlingit culture. Jackson would later purchase them all. These Brady could have acquired almost anywhere in Southeast Alaska.

Even though some of the pieces in the Princeton collection which Brady helped collect may not have been "traditional materials," they were chosen specifically to enhance the collection. They may have been of the "tourist variety," but the importance of the other artifacts such as stone implements, raw materials and everyday tools collected by Jackson, through Brady and others, far outweighed the poor wood carvings that have been referred to as "cordwood."[34]

Many new opportunities opened to Jackson in his dual role as Superintendent of Missions for the Presbytery of Alaska and General Agent of Education for Alaska. Jackson's commitment to education and missions in Alaska would have consumed all of anyone else's time and energies, but with characteristic vigor, the "Napoleon of Alaska" continued collecting Alaskan artifacts. Using this one interest to develop another, Jackson's collecting actually evolved into a means of furthering his official responsibilities.

One might argue that the collecting done for the Home Mission Collection at Princeton was not really done by Jackson but by those in the field such as Louis Paul, Sarah Dickinson, the Willards, Amanda McFarland, the Goulds, John Brady, and others who may never be known. However, Sheldon Jackson was the mover behind these people, the one with the idea, the ambition, the money, the goals, and the charisma to get the job done.

CHAPTER 6

General Agent of Education

Beginning with his appointment as General Agent of Education for Alaska in 1885, Jackson spent every summer through 1902 in Alaska. With transportation provided by the United States government, Jackson now had the opportunity to do some of his own field collecting for reasons more far-reaching and yet self-satisfying than even he could foresee. Technically, Jackson was supposed to make his residence in Alaska, leaving only with the permission of the Secretary of the Interior. However, even though he loved the region and spent many months of each year touring the vast territory, his family maintained its residence in Washington, D.C. where, in winter, Jackson followed a rigorous schedule of lectures and public appearances, and maintained pressure on Congress and the Board of Home Missions to support his work in Alaska. Prominent leaders attending his lectures became acquainted with Alaska through "multimedia" presentations incorporating maps, lantern slides, and "curios" —all presented with enthusiastic interpretation. Pamphlets, personal contacts, letters, and newspaper articles kept the feisty General Agent where he wanted to be: in the forefront of news about Alaska. In many circles he was regarded as the "sole recognized guardian of education, of the Protestant faith, and of the 'uplift' of the Natives of Alaska."[1] At the same time, however, Jackson's detractors numbered as many as his supporters.

There was friction between Jackson and the newly appointed government officials. He felt they did not give priority to the needs of the Native population, but rather, were benefiting—either directly or indirectly—from the exploitation of the Native populations through alcohol and prostitution.[2] In an effort to weaken Jackson's substantial political influence and his opposition to their appointments, Governor John Kinkead and his associates enlisted the support of the Russian Orthodox Church which had been in Alaska for many years and worked with the Natives in a manner different from Jackson's.[3] Feeling that Jackson, both as a Presbyterian missionary and as General Agent of Education, neither respected nor supported their work, Orthodox Church leaders willingly cooperated with Jackson's opponents.[4]

Jackson's rivals gained an opening for criticism as he began work on the mission school campus on land donated in 1882 by former missionary John G. Brady.

In August of 1885, while in Sitka, Jackson was arrested and indicted on five counts, the central charge having to do with the construction on school property of a fence that allegedly obstructed a public road leading to a nearby cemetery. That Jackson had real political clout in Washington, D.C. became apparent when President Cleveland responded to his complaints by replacing the four officials in Sitka who had been appointed by President Arthur. The new judge ruled the charges against Jackson to be superficial and contrived and dismissed the indictment.[5]

Instead of discrediting Jackson, the "difficulties at Sitka" brought him favorable public attention. For every negative article written about him in eastern papers, another appeared supporting him and his drive to civilize and evangelize the Natives of Alaska. Personal association with the president of the United States, congressmen, members of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Service, and staff of numerous organizations ranging from Indian rights and educational groups to scientific societies, ensured Jackson a strong backing. Although Jackson has been said to have had "more enemies than any other man in Alaska," he managed to out-maneuver them all and to continue his policies and plans for education, mission development, and collecting in Alaska.[6]

Until his appointment as general agent, Jackson had concentrated his efforts near the large Native population centers in Southeastern Alaska, largely because of problems with transportation to other parts of Alaska. However, as General Agent of Education he could now travel on the revenue cutters making annual patrols of northern waters. These transportation privileges gave Jackson, the collector, remarkable access to a whole new range of cultures and cultural objects.

During this tumultuous time, Jackson had not forgotten about his collection at Princeton. Although the large shipments of artifacts to Princeton ceased once Jackson became general agent, there appears to have remained a great deal of interest in the collection. Letters of inquiry concerning the origins, use, and history of various objects came to Jackson along with invitations to visit Princeton and lecture on the "uses and signification of the many interesting objects in the Alaskan collection."[7]

In the mid 1880s Jackson corresponded with a young professor of physical geology at Princeton University named William Libbey. Libbey was interested in the Jackson collection and proposed to increase it by joining an expedition organized by the *New York Times* to climb Mt. St. Elias in Southeast Alaska. When Libbey first wrote Jackson, his position on the expedition was not secure. He suggested they ask the collector Lt. George T. Emmons, who would be on the expedition, to do some collecting in the event Libbey was not selected. As it turned out, Libbey joined the expedition as the official representative of Princeton, and spent the summer in what can be assumed was friendly collecting competition with Lt. Emmons.[8] Libbey's collection of materials from the Yakutat area nearly doubled the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection at Princeton.

As Jackson's focus evolved from mission schools in Southeast Alaska to government and mission schools throughout the region, so too did his audience and purpose for collecting take on a new direction. Newly eager to obtain Alaskan "curios" were teachers who used objects in the classroom to illustrate the cultures of Alaska; women's church groups who wanted merchandise for fund-raising activities such as "mission fairs;" and various Indian rights groups who desired artifacts to sell for their work in support of Native people.

Representing one of these latter organizations, a Mrs. J. C. Kinney sought baskets from Alaska for a "Basket Sale" to raise money to help young Indian couples build houses. She had been advised by a friend to contact Jackson and

ask his assistance in obtaining baskets for her sale.[9] Always willing to aid someone who might eventually help him, Jackson spent the late summer of 1885 scurrying about Southeast Alaska in search of baskets for Mrs. Kinney and others. Frustrated in part by the tourist trade—"I went through the stores at Sitka...at Killisnoo...at Juneau and at Wrangell, a trip of about 400 miles and bought up everything that had been left by the summer tourist,"—Jackson advised the groups that if they wanted baskets and other "curios," they should send for them in the spring before the tourists began to arrive. Jackson also warned them that increased demand had also increased the prices of artifacts.[10] However, in spite of changes in price and availability, Jackson continued to receive requests for objects in his correspondence up to the turn of the century.

In addition to collecting for church groups, Jackson continued to correspond with scientists and collectors in return for obtaining information from them.

Jackson has been accused by uninformed critics of knowing little about Alaska and its people and yet, while he certainly wrote in the hyperbolic style of nineteenth-century travel writers, Jackson did not lack for well-documented information from highly regarded sources. Jackson's letters contain requests for copies of such books as William Dall's *Alaska and Its Resources*, Lt. P. H. Ray's report on the international polar expeditions to Pt. Barrow 1881-1883, G. Brown Goode's *Fisheries and Fisheries Interest of the United States* and books or articles on the Haida people published in Ottawa.[11] His library included Smithsonian publications and he was a member of groups as diverse in size and focus as the Minnesota Historical Society, the Trinity Historical Society of Dallas, Texas, the National Geographic Society and the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.[12] Jackson's contacts with ethnologists, meteorologists, astronomers, educators and museum professionals throughout the country not only kept him current on many topics but also sustained his interest in collecting while he carried out his duties as general agent and missionary superintendent.

The summer of 1887 marked a change in Jackson's approach to collecting: whereas before he had regarded collecting as a tool for the benefit of missionary work, he now saw gathering as a vehicle for the assimilation of Natives. By purchasing and trading for Native materials, Jackson saw that he had unwittingly strengthened the Native people's dependence on a cash economy. Even while discouraging tradition, Jackson at the same time fostered the practice of marketable skills, now for non-traditional purposes. Encouraged by John Brady, who had written Jackson expounding on the craftsmanship of the Natives of the Northwest Coast, Jackson decided to offer classes in the traditional skills and a place to work at the Sitka Industrial and Training School.[13] Pointing out that nearly everything the people used featured high quality workmanship, Brady suggested that "This talent could be cultivated and made a source of income to them."[14] Soon, the Sitka school was offering classes in Native arts and crafts in addition to those of basic western education. Materials such as carving tools began to appear on expense lists submitted by Jackson to the Bureau of Education. It is likely that the some of the poorer quality objects later found in the collection at Princeton came from those classes.[15]

Jackson's decision to preserve the Native arts and crafts in training school classes may have contributed to the development of a larger preservation plan born in the summer of 1887.

That summer a group of well-known and highly regarded individuals, including President D. C. Gillman of Johns Hopkins University,

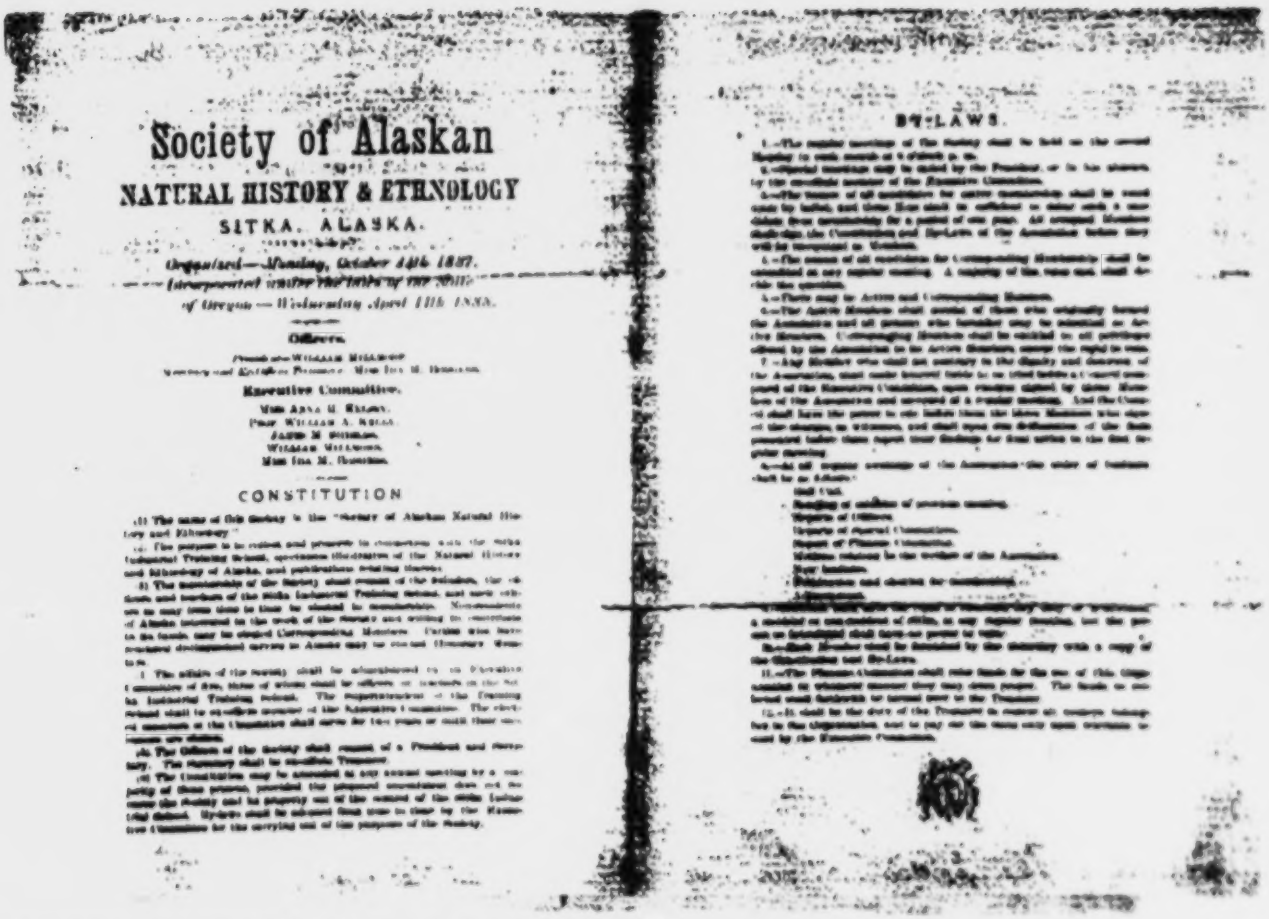
President Butler of the P.E.A. Training College, Professor Dyer of Cambridge University, and Mr. Edwin Hale Abbott of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, toured Southeast Alaska with Sheldon Jackson. After visiting the training school, where they no doubt observed classes, several of the men suggested that Jackson launch "an organization in Alaska for scientific investigation."[16] Never one to let go of a good idea, Jackson had many group members' signatures on a handwritten constitution for just such an organization before the party left Alaska.

Called either the "Alaskan Society of Sitka" or the "Alaska Academy of Sciences and Museum of Ethnology," the organization consisted of Jackson and Sitkans John Brady, A. P. Swineford, John J. McLean, and others, in addition to those on the tour (who eventually became corresponding members).[17] At their first meeting on October 3, 1887, members adopted the constitution written out in August. According to its constitution, the purpose of the organization was "to collect and preserve information in regard to the arts, history, language, religions, and folklore of the native populations of Alaska and also in regard to the structure, climate, mineral resources, flora and fauna of the country; and, in brief, to observe, collect, record and publish facts in regard to the entire territory continental and insular."[18]

Due to a rift of some sort between the newly elected president, Governor Swineford, and secretary-treasurer John Brady, this first organization survived only two meetings.

Undaunted, Jackson wrote to Edwin Hale Abbott, one of the men who suggested the scientific society, telling him that the Sitka group had a "fair prospect for success"—an optimistic statement considering the president and secretary-treasurer both declined further involvement in the group.[19] Soon afterward, Jackson began recruiting townspeople to join a second organization, the "Museum of Natural History and Ethnology." An ad in the local newspaper, *The Alaskan*, announced the formation of a society connected to the training school.[20] Since officially the first group had never been dissolved there were now two groups. As Jackson explained to Abbott in his letter of October 19, there were a number of reasons for the two societies. The original organization would meet twice a month to hear scientific papers, and the new group, connected to the training school, would be responsible for maintaining a collection of objects. Jackson believed that if the museum came under the care of an established institution such as the training school, there would be more continuity to its care than if it were left to a loosely knit group of townspeople who might move away or lose interest.[21] Jackson proved correct on this point. The collection stayed within the institution known variously as the Sitka Industrial and Training School, the Sheldon Jackson School, and the Sheldon Jackson High School, Jr. College, and College until 1984 when the museum was bought by the State of Alaska. Many individuals came and went, but the institution and museum remained intact.[22]

Hoping to have a building to house the newly founded organization's potential collections, Jackson reminded Edwin Hale Abbott of his offer to finance a department of carving and weaving for the school. Not only could the building be used for the classes, it would be necessary to display the new objects derived from the students' work as well as a place to exhibit the "best specimens of the old work of their ancestors."[23] It is possible Jackson encouraged Abbott's idea for a department of carving and weaving in order to obtain a building for the society. Certainly he realized the department could be used to his advantage in creating a means of cash income for his new converts, but he also needed an excuse to finance a building that could double for a museum. Jackson's ego, combined with his



Society of Alaskan
NATURAL HISTORY & ETHNOLOGY
SITKA, ALASKA.

Organized—Monday, October 24th 1887.

Officers.

Executive Committee.

CONSTITUTION

BY-LAWS.

Constitution of the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology, 1887.

considerable talents in fund-raising, enabled him to pursue this dual purpose with an obviously clear conscience. A modern perspective would perhaps view Jackson's activities as a conflict of interest between his educational duties and his personal interest in the museum society.

Jackson kept after Abbott for construction money during the next two years, but to no avail.

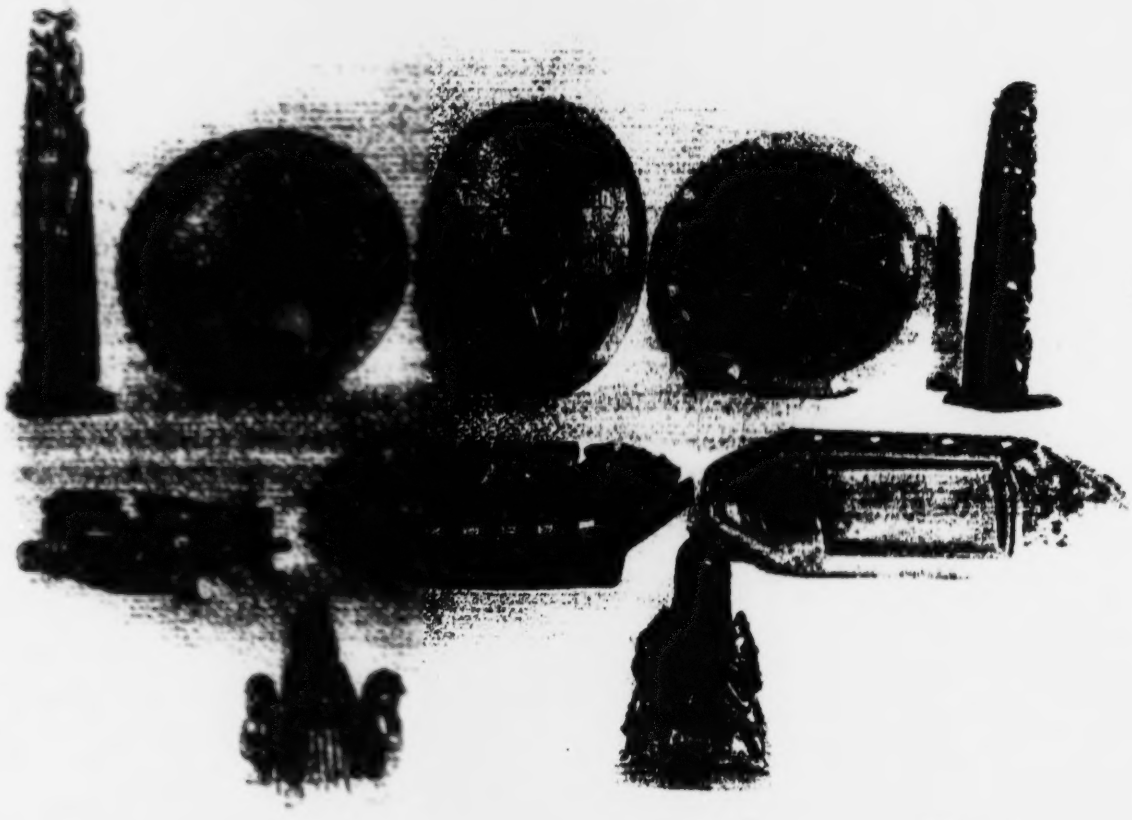
On October 24, 1887, Jackson convened the first meeting of the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology. This group wanted to collect, preserve, and publish; where the two groups differed was in board membership and in overall control of each organization. Whereas the Alaskan society "elected" the general population into its membership and put no restrictions on who could serve on the board of directors, the museum, although electing members from the general population, required that a majority of executive committee members would be teachers and officers of the training school. The sixth article of the museum's constitution ensured the perpetual oversight by the training school by stating that the constitution could not be changed in any way that took the museum and its property out of the control of the training school. (see appendix "C" for copies of both constitutions.) At this first meeting, Jackson appointed as corresponding members of the museum out-of-towners who had signed the constitution for the Alaskan society.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

This move connected the organization with wealthy supporters and highly educated and informed sources on the East Coast. Having William H. Dall from the Smithsonian and Professor W. H. Libbey from Princeton among the corresponding membership contributed greatly to the prestige and scientific credibility of the new organization.[24]

Not one of the founding members of the museum had any formal training or experience in proper museum procedures or related sciences. Because of his years of personal collecting, his contacts with eastern museums and, of course, his collection at Princeton, Jackson logically served as the group's resident "expert" on collecting. Over the next fifteen years, he honed his curatorial skills, gathering close to two-thirds of the current collection at the Sheldon Jackson Museum.[25]

From the time Jackson presented the first objects to the Sitka museum, he began to realize the importance of at least minimal documentation. For example, the society's minutes give clear evidence of Jackson's awareness for the need of keeping records. According to the minutes, Jackson's first donations consisted of argillite carvings, one group of twenty-five purchased from the Metlakatla Cooperative Store in July of 1887 for $130.00. Although the purchase list shows twenty-five pieces, only twenty-two arrived in Sitka.[26] Another group arriving in the spring of



A group of argillite pieces, some of which were the first artifacts donated by Jackson to the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology in 1887. Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, PCA 57-101.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Young Tsimshian men at Metlakatla who would be attending the Sitka (Sheldon Jackson) Industrial and Training School. Jackson center front, and Father William Duncan on the right, at Metlakatla, May 4, 1888. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) Philadelphia, #490.

1888 had tags glued to them indicating they came from the Indian Bazaar, 36 Johnson St., Victorica, B.C. Apparently, the existing thirty-two pieces of argillite now in the museum's collection are from a combination of the first two accessions from Jackson. Some of the original pieces were sold in order to raise money for building expenses or for purchasing other artifacts.[27] Other argillite pieces, probably the items from the Metlakatla store, have a small tag with a price penciled on it, and nearly all the pieces feature the notation "Presented by Sheldon Jackson, 1888" handwritten in white ink. While by today's standards this documentation would be considered rudimentary, for Jackson it represented an improvement over his former habit of doing nothing more than writing his name on a few objects. Eventually, Jackson recorded on many pieces the collector's name, the collection date and the area where some of the objects were gathered by himself and his missionary teachers.

In the spring of 1888, the two ethnological organizations, the "Alaska Society of Sitka" and the "Museum of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology," became incorporated as one and by November of that year the name settled as the "Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology" or the "Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology."[28] Collecting became the main focus for this group with members gathering "curios" from local Natives and the Russian colonizers as well as plant, animal and mineral specimens from the environment; virtually anything connected with Alaska, including objects from the crumbling Lutheran church, was considered of interest.

The minutes of the society's meetings, as well as the museum's catalog cards, reveal a definite pattern as to types of objects collected by members of the organization. Even though museum amateurs, they were beginning to adopt some semblances of a systematic collection policy. In at least one instance, Jackson hired a

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

man to collect baskets for the society to resell enabling him to buy objects not yet in the collection.[29] Frederick Frobese, a taxidermist, who later became the museum's first curator, donated many natural history specimens; John Brady often gave objects from the Russian period or Native cultures; and others relied heavily on materials found in the forest and beaches. Donations of objects and written material came from well-known collectors George T. Emmons and William Libbey. Materials really began to accumulate after Jackson returned in the spring of 1888. Although never taking up permanent residence in Alaska, Jackson became the biggest contributor to the society's museum.

In May 1888, Jackson had the opportunity to visit William Duncan and his Christianized Tsimshians in their new home at Metlakatla. Father Duncan had removed his "flock" of seven hundred from British Columbia following a disagreement with the Canadian government in 1887. Sheldon Jackson had helped locate the group on Annette Island within the boundaries of the United States at the site of a long-abandoned Tlingit village.

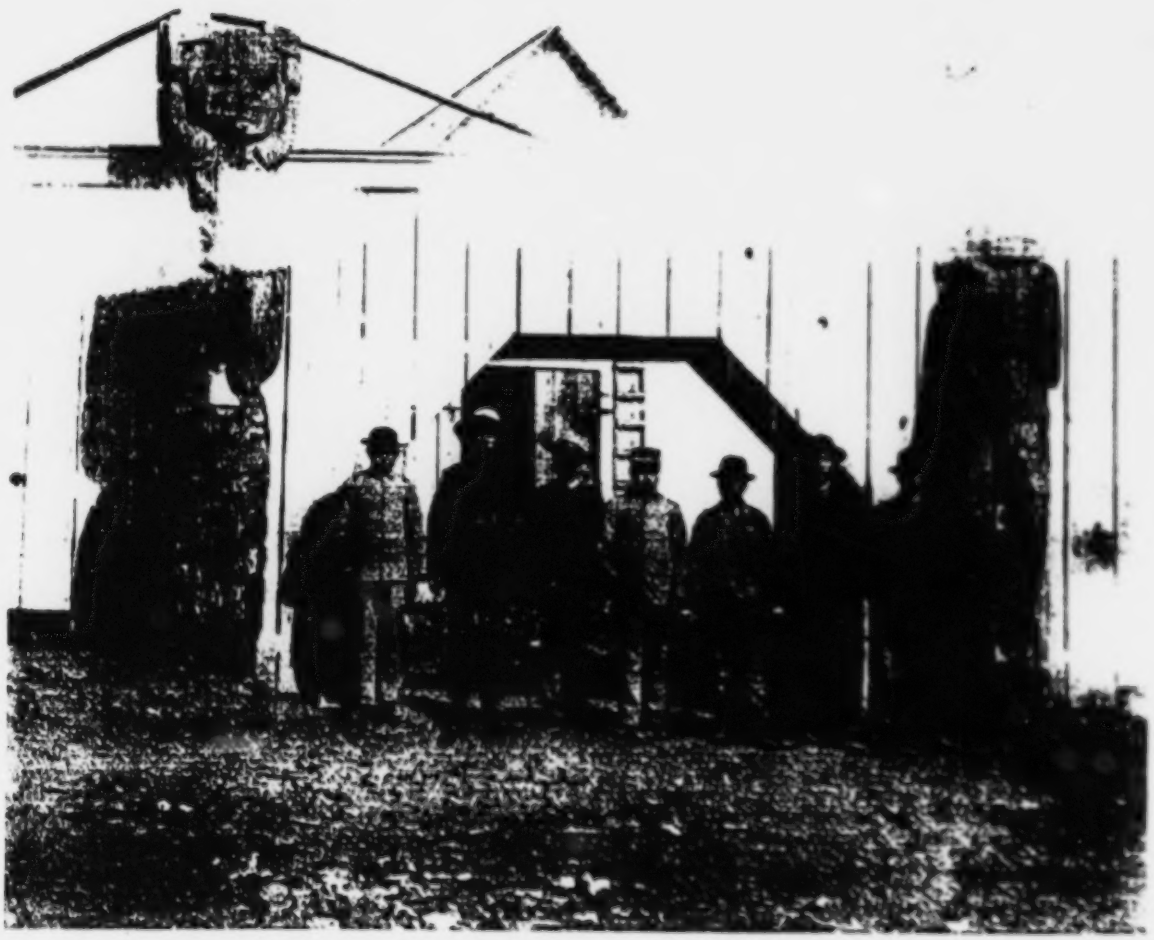
While visiting Metlakatla, Jackson arranged for thirty-four of the young Tsimshian men to attend the Sitka Industrial and Training School. Jackson also learned that the old Tlingit totem poles were of no interest to the new Tshimshian inhabitants and would soon be destroyed. Jackson obtained permission to cut down the poles and ship them to Sitka at the same time the young men made their move.[30] According to one account, on arriving in Sitka, the poles were transported to the museum in a parade-like atmosphere. A number of the young Tsimshians played brass instruments and led the procession of training school students and newly arrived Tsimshians as they pulled the poles to the museum. Some wheels had been found and placed under the poles making a one-mile "triumphal entrance" through town to the museum.[31]

There is no indication that Jackson purchased these poles, only that they "were secured for the museum." However, not wanting a repeat of the Stickeen incident of 1879 when he was rebuked by the owners for improperly taking a monument, Jackson likely asked permission from the Tsimshian to remove the poles, and may have even tried to contact nearby villages. While in later years Jackson learned to seek the permission of descendants of Tlingit people before attempt-ing to obtain totem poles for the museum, no written records or oral traditions indicate that he followed this course in Metlakatla in 1888.[32]

Although the museum at Sitka had become Jackson's focus for collecting, it did not deter him from collecting for himself, or friends and supporters on the East Coast. His correspondence indicated a small, but steady flow of objects out of Alaska. The large shipments of artifacts to Princeton had ceased altogether. Most of the objects sent east were argillite carvings, baskets, mats, furs and other objects made for the tourist trade. They found their way to church groups, legislators, and old friends.

Silver coins worked into spoons, bracelets, and earrings with elaborate totemic designs began to grow in popularity among tourists and Natives alike—the tourists finding a beautiful, practical and affordable gift or souvenir, the Natives finding highly marketable objects easily adapted to traditional art forms. Jackson's wife, Mary, received a number of these items over the years her husband traveled in Alaska.[33]

In addition to gathering objects of material culture for the museum, Jackson also acquired printed materials as diverse as articles on "Pre-glacial man in Ohio," and the Ice Age, annual reports of the Smithsonian Institution, papers on mineralogy and agriculture, American Geographic Society publications, and Volume VII of the Virginia State papers.[34] These documents, which ended up in the library



The two poles Jackson rescued from destruction at Metlakatla and brought to the Sitka Museum in 1888. The group of men are members of the Metlakatla Community. Photo courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, #S4-140136Y.

portion of the society's collection, added to the society's credibility in scientific circles.

Throughout 1889, Jackson and the other members gathered objects, but primarily from the Southeastern area. Jackson's duties as general agent took him and his teachers farther and farther north and west. Gradually items from the Eskimo cultures began to appear, either from Jackson's trips to the "Westward," or from missionaries such as J. Kilbuck at the Moravian mission on the Kuskokwim River.[35]

The society prospered and grew not only in objects and printed materials but, also in membership. Jackson encouraged Native participation in the society and assigned Native preachers and teachers whenever possible to village churches and schools. These role models also often spoke or gave papers at the society's meetings in order to pass on and preserve their heritage for coming generations.[36]

With no permanent home, the society's collection became unmanageable. In January 1889, the only place available to house the collection was in the mission chapel, which likely doubled as a schoolroom. It is ironic that objects of Native manufacture were being

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

displayed and admired in an institution dedicated to changing that way of life. The bulk of the society's collection was in large glass cases, probably constructed by the training school's carpentry class. In the spring of 1889, a concerted effort to label and arrange the cabinet preoccupied the members of the society.[37] When Jackson arrived in Sitka with his wife and daughter in May 1889, all but the newest acquisitions had been labeled. However, rather than refraining from adding to the collection until a more suitable location could be found, Jackson announced at the May meeting that missionaries and teachers in the West were continuing to collect for the museum.[38]

At this same meeting, Jackson announced the publication of two bulletins: one on the Muir glacier and the other on Presbyterianism in Alaska. He placed multiple copies in the growing society library. All available space in the mission classroom/chapel had been filled. Jackson again attempted to flatter Edwin Hale Abbott into financing the desperately needed building to hold the collection which would make them available "for study by the students the best Specimens of the old works of their Ancestors." However, Abbott was still not interested in financing construction, preferring to help in developing a "form of industry...to assist in their development."[39] He felt his money could do much more if it went into developing an instructional program that enabled Native people to better utilize their aptitudes for carving and weaving. He wanted no "material monument" with his name attached to it, but rather to assist in a manner that provided the best aid for the most people.

Having failed for a second time to obtain the money for the building from Abbott, Jackson gave the money himself. Jackson had three fundamental reasons for wanting a building to house the collection and to preserve the disappearing material culture of Alaska's Natives.

First, based on his experiences with the reservation system in the Southwest, Jackson understood that for acculturation to be successful, Alaska Natives must have some knowledge of their history. In providing a link with tradition through examples of material culture and traditional arts and crafts, the museum created an avenue for transition. Although maligned for his part in cultural assimilation, Jackson deserves credit for realizing that change comes most easily by maintaining some connection with the past.

Second, Jackson felt it essential that there be a place where the Alaska Natives could see the high-quality artifacts made by their ancestors in order to model new objects from these and in turn sell the new pieces, thus ensuring their integration and survival in a cash economy. Jackson's reasoning took into account inevitable changes in lifestyle for Native groups brought on by a hundred years of contact with outsiders.

Finally, Jackson hoped to develop the Sitka museum into a high-profile educational institution which would further promote his works in Alaska. Jackson was well aware that in the long run a museum building could advance his own fund-raising efforts.[40]

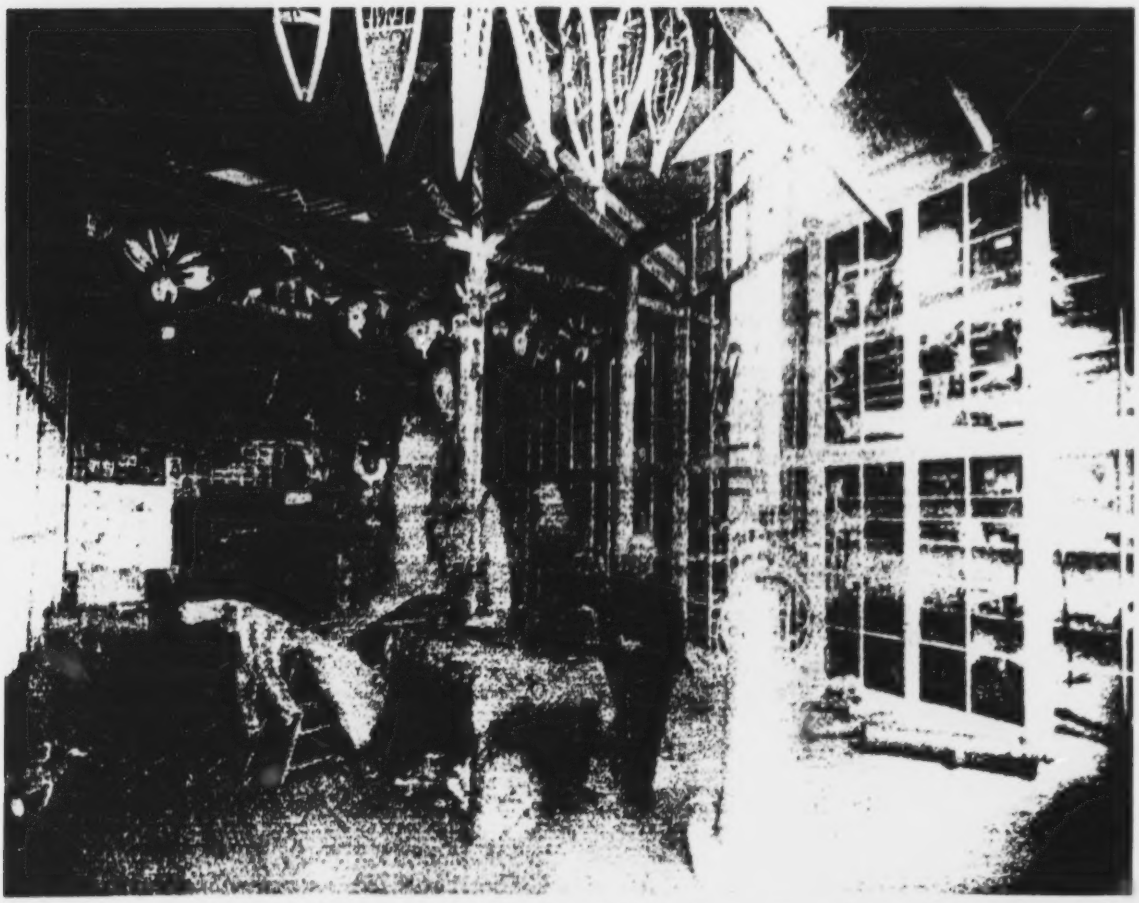
In the summer of 1889, Jackson informed the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions of his plans to build a museum on the grounds of the training school. A letter from the board received in July 1889, gave Jackson and the society permission to proceed with the building and thanked Jackson for the addition to the school grounds. Soon after, construction began on a frame building.

The new building, which opened on December 12, 1889, to rave reviews from both the *Alaskan*, a local newspaper and the citizens of Sitka, was built in a manner of an American frame house but with the characteristics of a Northwest Coast Indian community house. Edward Marsden a Native student at the school, and later Presbyterian minister, painted totemic

41

The first Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library built in 1889 and used until the present concrete structure was completed in 1897. Dr. Jackson is seated on the steps by the doorway. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #549.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



Sheldon Jackson in the first museum structure, ca. 1890. Photo courtesy Ketchikan Museums, Tongass Historical Society Collection, THS 71.7.14.4.

designs on the front and sides of the structure, giving it the appearance of a pseudo-authentic Tlingit structure.

Inside, the collection already threatened to overwhelm the one room. Totem poles, Eskimo clothing, argillite, natural history specimens, and Russian artifacts lined the walls from floor to ceiling. Cases for the new museum had also been constructed at the training school and objects in them were displayed in typical Victorian style: multiple items and minimal labeling.

Many attended that first meeting in the new building and donated material for the collection. Jackson, his wife Mary, and daughter Lesley (Elizabeth), had remained in Sitka through the fall in order to be there for the opening of the new building. Initially called the "Museum Hall," the building eventually took on the name of its most active contributor, the Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library.

With the opening of the museum and the close of the decade, a new era began for Jackson and his program for Alaska. After returning to Washington, D.C., Jackson made arrangements for his annual summer visit to Alaska for 1890. This would mark the beginning of Jackson's yearly trips to Alaska's Arctic, a region he had not yet visited. Concerned that previously established Russian Orthodox schools were not meeting the needs of the Native villages, and that Orthodox

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

missions did not extend into the most remote regions of Alaska, Jackson began his educational assault on the far corners of Alaska. The next twelve years proved to be the most fruitful and important years both for Jackson's career and his museum.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER 7

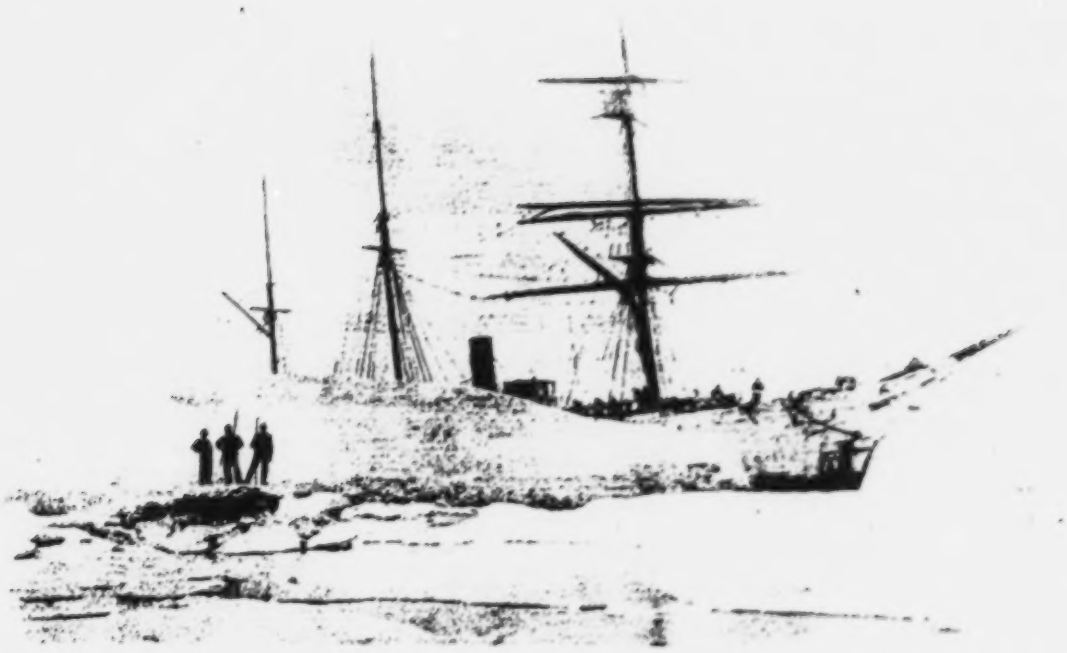
How Their Fathers Lived

Every year from 1890 until 1902, Sheldon Jackson made tours of inspection to Southwest Alaska and the Arctic Coast. Since 1879 Jackson had worked in Southeast Alaska establishing schools and missions and collecting artifacts for various institutions. By 1890 there were schools for Natives and whites in virtually every town and village along the coast of Southeast Alaska. Both the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection at Princeton and the Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library in Sitka featured a growing collection of "curios." The time was right for Jackson to move into more remote areas of the territory of Alaska and to repeat the work done in Southeast.

One problem Jackson had encountered during his earlier years in Alaska involved transportation from one village to another. The ships of the United States Revenue Cutter Service had shuttled him from place to place if they were going in the same direction, but often he had to book passage on the commercial steamships. By 1890 his reputation was sufficiently established that he could exploit his connections with the Revenue Cutter Service. Through these connections, Jackson arranged for transportation to the Arctic and Southwest Alaska on ships of the Bering Sea Patrol. In a letter dated April 17, 1890, Acting Secretary of the Treasury George S. Blatchelly ordered the captains of the Bering Sea Patrol to "receive Reverend Sheldon Jackson on board your respective vessels and convey him to such places as he may desire to visit in the discharge of his official duties."[1] At the same time, Blatchelly cautioned the captains to not let this assignment interfere with their regular duties.

The Bering Sea Patrol was charged with monitoring the whaling fleet, preventing the smuggling of whale bone, protecting sealing grounds from poachers, enforcing revenue laws, acting as traveling lifesaving stations for ailing Natives and shipwrecked mariners, and protecting the Natives from the importation of alcohol.[2] In the summer of 1890, and for the next twelve years that followed, these same ships also transported Alaska's General Agent of Education to the Bering Sea, Arctic Alaska, and Siberia. Not only did they transport Jackson, his teachers, and their supplies, they also assisted him in building schools, loading,

Sheldon Jackson in his summer parka. C.a. 1892. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia. #87.



The "Bear" in the Arctic ice, 1892. Jackson traveled on the "Bear" to set up schools in the northern most villages. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #260.

packing and unpacking thousands of artifacts for him.

The captains of the Bering Sea Patrol were generally men with strong personalities—a qualification essential for working in the North Pacific. Fortunately for Jackson, whose character easily matched that of the most demanding and forthright commanders, he had his first of many trips to the Arctic and Bering Sea with Captain Michael Healy, on the Revenue Cutter *Bear*.[3]

Healy had first cruised Alaskan waters with the Revenue Cutter Service in 1868, gaining command of his own ship by 1883. He and his crew had received citations from Congress for "heroic deeds" and were widely respected by colleagues in the service. Known as a strict disciplinarian and excellent seaman, Healy also had a reputation as a hard drinker with a "savage temper."[4]

It would seem these two strong-willed men, one an abstaining Presbyterian and the other a hard-drinking Catholic, would be unlikely—if not impossible—companions to share space on a two-hundred foot vessel off and on for some twelve summers. But, as fate had it, Jackson and Healy shared a common goal: to save the Native people from the "...rapacity of the white man."[5] Although their friendship was not without quarrels and disagreements, a strong and mutually supportive bond gradually grew between the two men. Healy's first impressions of Jackson were favorable: he liked Jackson and found him an "unassuming gentleman and with a head as long as a horse."[6] It did not take long for the captain to realize his friendship and generosity toward Jackson came at a price. It soon became clear to Healy that each time he granted a special request from the general

agent, he opened himself up to requests for unlimited favors. Captain Healy complained to the Secretary of Treasury about Jackson's demands for the cutter crew to assist the Bureau of Education in every way possible.[7] No matter how often Healy complained to his commanding officer in Washington, D.C., he knew that because of Jackson's political ties, the latter would always have a berth on the revenue cutters.

When the Revenue Cutter *Bear* visited the villages of the Bering Sea, Jackson was appalled to learn of Native people starving in a land in which they had managed to survive for thousands of years prior to Euro-American contact. Healy explained to Jackson that the herds of sea mammals the Natives had depended on had declined due to the increased hunting by commercial whalers and sealers. Villagers coping with unusually severe winters, the introduction of illegal alcohol in addition to new diseases, were hard-pressed to hunt and prepare food for the winter months.[8]

During the summer of 1890, Healy's job included the normal patrol of the Bering Sea along with the additional tasks introduced by Jackson. This trip also included a visit to Siberia to deliver thank-you gifts from the United States government to a tribe of Koryak who had rescued a stranded American sailor several years before.[9] While in Siberia, Healy pointed out to Jackson the striking differences between starving Alaska Natives and well-fed Siberian Koryaks. In contrast to their Alaskan neighbors, Siberian Koryak, who had domesticated reindeer to provide themselves with food, hides, bone and antlers, seemed better able to meet the basic needs of survival in the harsh northern environment.

As early as 1880 the Revenue Cutter Service informed the Secretary of Treasury that unless "some prompt action be taken by the Government the Native population would become extinct."[10] Five years later, Charles H. Townsend, zoologist for the United States Fish Commission, sailed on the Revenue Cutter *Corwin*, with Captain Michael Healy. Having seen the desperate condition of the Eskimo, Townsend suggested to Congress the idea of starting reindeer herds in Alaska in order to supplement the Eskimos' food supplies.[11] Healy in turn, passed on to Jackson the idea of importing reindeer to Alaska on their visit to the Koryak. Healy and Jackson worked out plans and, with his usual energy and determination, Jackson began what was to become one of his most ambitious projects: the introduction of domestic reindeer to Alaska. Bringing reindeer to Alaska and teaching Alaska Natives how to herd tied in with his educational goals for Alaska. Jackson explained to legislators that agricultural schools could be set up to train Natives in the eventual management of their own herds. In 1891, through pressure on Congress, Jackson's plan of introducing reindeer became a reality.[12]

The reindeer project offered Jackson the unparalleled opportunity to collect objects from remote and little-known Northwest Alaska and Siberian cultures. Artifacts were easily obtained from Eskimo people of Southwest Alaska, the Arctic and Siberia, who were eager to trade their "good for nothing things" for metal pots and pans, tools, tobacco, fabric, lead and powder, pilot bread and other recently introduced western merchandise.[13] Some of the items Jackson collected or had collected were sold to help raise money for purchasing reindeer; some were given as gifts to supporters and to draw attention to Alaska and its problems; and many ended up in the growing museum at Sitka.

By the late 1800s, a new kind of exhibition opportunity became available to Jackson—the great expositions of industry and development in the nation's major cities. At each of these expositions great crowds visited a wide variety of displays, including exhibits of the United

Landing the first herd of reindeer at Port Clarence on July 4th, 1892. Sheldon Jackson is in the foreground looking at the camera. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #276.

States Bureau of Education's educational work among Native Americans. The bureau agents collected and exhibited traditional materials as well as school projects done by the newly western-educated Native students. None did this better than Sheldon Jackson.

The exhibits which Jackson organized for the expositions won many new supporters for his work in Alaska. Both financially and through pressure on Congress, people supported the introduction of reindeer, as well as Jackson's schools and missions and the museum in Sitka. Jackson promoted the museum as the headquarters of a scientific organization where Natives could have access to the material culture of their ancestors and help gather knowledge on rapidly changing Alaska cultures. Although Jackson's professional work in Alaska revolved closely around missions, reindeer, and education, he persevered in his desire to establish a collection of cultural artifacts in Alaska for the purpose of showing the "coming generations of natives how their fathers lived."[14]

To maintain momentum among his supporters after the expositions, and in keeping with his earlier practice in the Southwest, Jackson took up his pen to write about his work and adventures in the Arctic. Tales from the 1890 cruise of the *Bear* appeared in numerous publications and lectures. Travelogues appeared in religious as well as secular journals and papers.[15] In addition, each year Jackson submitted a formal report on his work in Alaska to the Bureau of Education. Once the reindeer project was fully under way, his yearly reports appeared as the "First" ("Second," and so on to the "Sixteenth") Annual Report on the Introduction of Domesticated Reindeer."[16] As well as detailing what he had been doing as general agent, Jackson's reports, lectures and articles included notes on Native cultures and natural phenomena. Jackson was hardly scientific in his observations, but his skills as an interpretive writer made for interesting and informative reading for the general public. Although the writings reflected the classic biases of

F. E. FROBESE,

SITKA, ALASKA

TAXIDERMIST, NATURALIST AND CURATOR

— of —

The Society of Natural History and Ethnology of Alaska

PRICE LIST.

Genuine Thlinket, Indian and Hyda Relics, used and made by the natives of Alaska, also Facsimiles of the celebrated Black Slate Carving of the Hyda Indians.

Squirrel-skin Pouches	$ 15	$ 1.25
Buckskin "	25	3.00
Bead "	10	50
Silver Bracelets, *per pair*	3.00	4.50
" Teaspoons, with Totem	2.00	2.50
Hyda Mats	75	2.50
Ornamental Khantags, or Trays	3.00	9.00
" " *smaller size*	75	2.00
Tobacco Pipes	50	6.00
Native Halibut Hooks, Totems	50	1.00
Canoe Models, *ornamented.*	50	10.00
" Paddles "	50	4.00
Hyda Hats	1.50	5.00
" Soap Oils, Spoons	3.00	5.00
Whalebone Boxes, with Totem	3.00	5.00
Indian Skinning Knives, each		75
Black Horn Spoons	1.00	3.50
Yellow " "	1.00	6.00
" " " *carved*	2.50	10.00
" " " *Totems and mounted in silver*	10.00	50.00
Native Baskets, *ornamented*	50	4.00
Hyda Clubs, with carvings	1.00	3.50
Totem Poles, wood *according to height*	3.00	10.00
Moccasins plain Buckskin *per pair*		1.50
" *beaded or ornamented*	2.00	5.00
Indian Shaman Rattler	75	12.00
Wooden Spears	50	1.00
Hyda (*Shi-han*) Musical Instruments	1.00	2.50
Stone Hammer	2.50	10.00
" Adzes	2.00	8.00
Snow Shoes, *per pair*	2.50	6.00
Spears	3.00	18.00
Clag, with carved Totem	2.50	5.00

Facsimiles of Slate Carvings.

Totem Poles	3.00	8.00
Dishes with Shaman carved in center, each		10.00
" " Devilfish in center, each	6.00	
" " " grasping Faces of Drowned Natives,		
(Legend furnished with each,) each		12.00
Bear Eating Hunter, *with Story*, each		6.00
Indian Shaman treating Sick		10.00

A Special List of other Varieties of the above Facsimiles furnished on application.

SPECIAL Articles which cannot be Duplicated

One Chilcat Blanket, *very old.*	75.00
" " Headdress	50.00
Hyda Copper Talent, (*Indian Money*) Old time value - Ten Slaves	
height, 2 feet; width, 14 inches, with Totem of the Eagle	250.00
Old Russian Trading Beads, per lb	50
" " Samovar	30.00

Any of the Smaller Articles that do not weigh more the 4 lbs., will be sent by mail post paid.

Address all communications to

F.E. FROBESE,
Sitka, Alaska.

Facsimile ALASKAN PRINT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

nineteenth-century missionaries that Natives were "barbarous" and needed to be "saved" by western religion, the work of scientists such as Boas, Swan, and Emmons used the same language. Jackson wrote and spoke very informally, hoping both to cultivate the support of average Americans yet give enough detail to keep the interest of the scientific community.

Jackson usually stopped over in Sitka on his annual treks to the Arctic. During these brief visits he might speak to the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology about Eskimo land and culture, and sometimes he unpacked and labeled objects he had shipped to the museum the previous summer. Following his first summer in the Arctic, 1890, Jackson and others collecting for him in the Arctic and Southwest Alaska sent over eight hundred artifacts to the museum in Sitka.[17]

With the small frame structure the society had constructed in 1889 becoming inadequate for such a large and growing collection, Jackson and the society decided to sell some of the pieces. On Jackson's return to the East Coast in the fall of 1890, he began rounding up potential buyers for the duplicate artifacts in the Sitka museum. In a letter to William Kelly, then vice-president of the society, Jackson listed a number of items, with their prices, to be packed and sent to David Pell Secor of the Bridgeport (Connecticut) Scientific Society.[18] Portions of that sale are currently a part of the P.T. Barnum Museum in Bridgeport, Connecticut.[19] About this same time the society began actively selling "curios" to the summer tourists, going so far as to advertise "Genuine Thlinket, Indian and Hyda Relics, used and made by the natives of Alaska, also Facsimiles of the celebrated Black Slate Carvings of the Hyda Indians."[20]

The sales must have gone well. Two major universities today house collections containing artifacts from the 1890s which can be linked to the Sheldon Jackson Museum. The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology (UMMA) purchased a 144 piece collection comprising Eskimo and Northwest Coast Indian artifacts from a Mr. William A. Peterson in 1929; UMMA records show the dates 1890 and 1897 associated with the objects; both dates are consistent with the time Jackson and the museum were offering items for sale.[21]

The Gardner House at Brown University houses a very small collection of objects "bought at Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1895" by Dr. and Mrs. George W. Gardner and Mrs. Gardner's brother during their tour of the Pacific Northwest and Alaska; fortunately, they tagged the items they purchased with information on what the object was, where and when it was purchased. The seven Tlingit objects listed in the Gardner House inventory fit the description listed in the Sheldon Jackson Museum's advertisements of the 1890s.[22]

Even though Jackson and the society worked on the one hand to decrease the Museum's collections, Jackson proceeded to gather artifacts, including non-Alaskan objects, with undiminished passion. Jackson went so far as to propose exchanging duplicate artifacts with the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, Hawaii. Writing to the manager of the Bishop Museum in 1895 Jackson explained that the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology wished to "enlarge the scope of our collection so it shall represent the shores of the Pacific and the islands therein."[23] Luckily, nothing ever came of Jackson's scheme to compound the over-crowding problem with Hawaiian artifacts. There is no record of any Pacific Island objects ever being in the Sheldon Jackson Museum, and the Bishop Museum archives do not have any record of exchange or correspondence with Jackson.[24] Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that even one hundred years ago, Jackson was looking at the importance and linkage among all Pacific Rim cultures.

While from 1890 to 1895 Jackson did the bulk of collecting for the Sitka museum, he

continued to encourage his contacts in remote areas of Alaska to gather "anything to illustrate the manner and customs of the natives, anything of historical or ethnological value..." his correspondence shows that he was generally successful in having others collect for him. [25]

By the early 1890s Jackson's reputation as a collector and as one of the founders of the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology prompted many who came in contact with him to donate artifacts to the Sitka museum. Traders and Revenue Cutter Service men regularly gave Jackson artifacts which they had purchased, traded, found, or taken from grave sites. Moravian missionaries at Bethel sent an ancient stone lamp found in a river bank; officials of the Alaska Commercial Company donated another stone lamp and various other objects; and Jackson traded reindeer skins at St. Michael for moose skin gloves and received a number of other "curios" from one of the residents.[26] Many whites who had settled in northern Native villages seemed eager to assist Jackson in building the collection at Sitka.

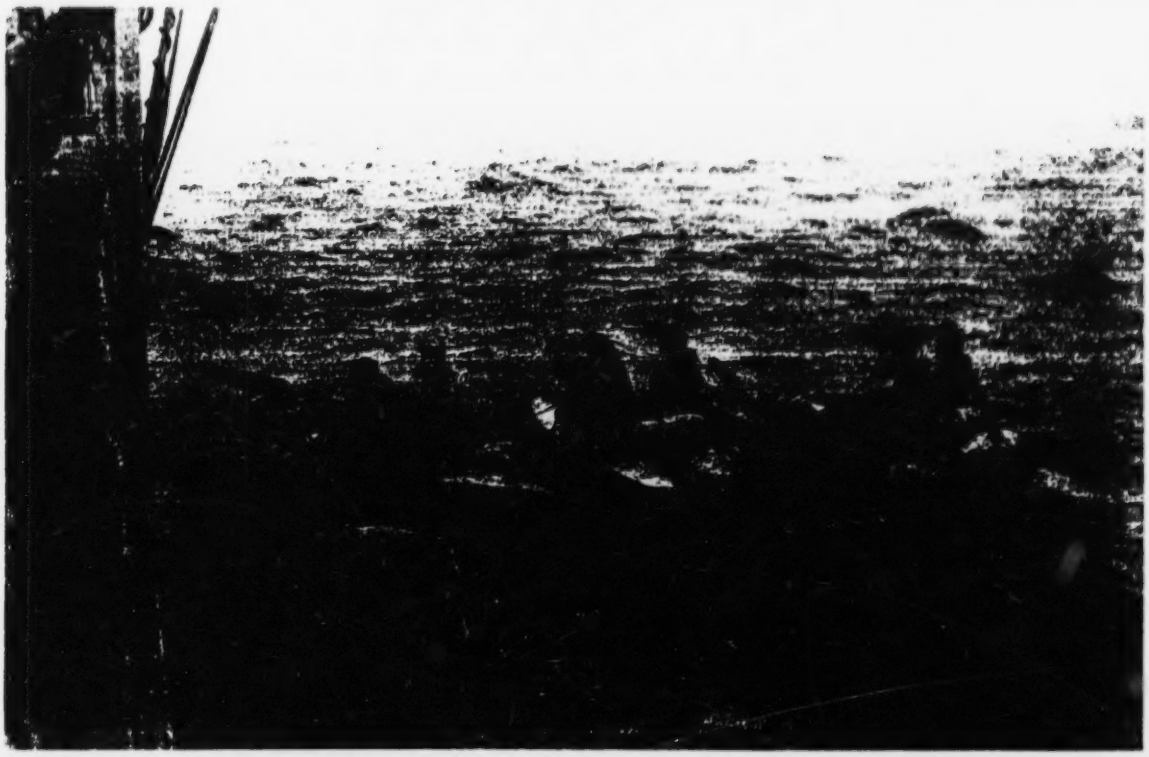
Captain and Mrs. Michael Healy gave Jackson many objects for the Sitka museum. Included were natural history specimens, sled bags, and leather and gut pouches and other utilitarian objects. Among other military personnel interested in supporting the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology was Lt. George T. Emmons of the United States Navy. Emmons, who for many years had cooperated with Jackson on collecting and recording information on the Native people of Southeast Alaska, sold most of what he collected to eastern museums, most notably the American Museum of Natural History in New York. However, he did send his old friend in Alaska three pieces for the Sitka museum.[27]

Often the officers and men Jackson sailed with during his summer tours visited Eskimo villages and grave sites, helping themselves to the possessions of the dead. Like many others who often removed objects from grave sites, these men honestly felt they were advancing the science of anthropology. While these men may have enhanced contemporary understanding of Alaska Native cultures, from a twentieth-century perspective, the end did not justify the means. In his diaries Jackson described visiting both Native graves and abandoned homes, but he never wrote of taking any of the objects he saw. However, neither did he refuse offers of funerary items picked up by Revenue Cutter Service men from such places as the Eskimo cemetery at Pt. Hope.[28]

It was not unusual for Jackson to receive material at many of the ports at which he called during his summer tours aboard the revenue cutters.[29] Everyone, even those who might have found the Presbyterian dogmatic or abrasive, seemed eager to donate objects to Jackson's museum or to his world exposition exhibits. The Roman Catholic priests at St. Michael, who must have been as suspicious of their Presbyterian visitor as he was of them, presented Jackson with a "walrus tusk pipe and valuable mask."[30]

Sometimes Jackson gave local whites boxes of pilot bread or other trade goods such as lead, fabric, flour, beans, rice, and matches which could be exchanged for artifacts. At other times he simply instructed his teachers to obtain "curios" but left them without the financial means for doing so. Donald McLeod, a teacher stationed at Jackson (now Howkan), in Southeast Alaska, said he would "get all I can of curios," but advised Jackson that the Indians would want good pay for the items. McLeod told Jackson that he might not be able to help if he had to purchase them himself because "to tell the truth I have not got a dollar."[31]

Nevertheless, the museum's collection swelled to nearly five thousand objects by September 1893, with three thousand of these having been gathered during that summer

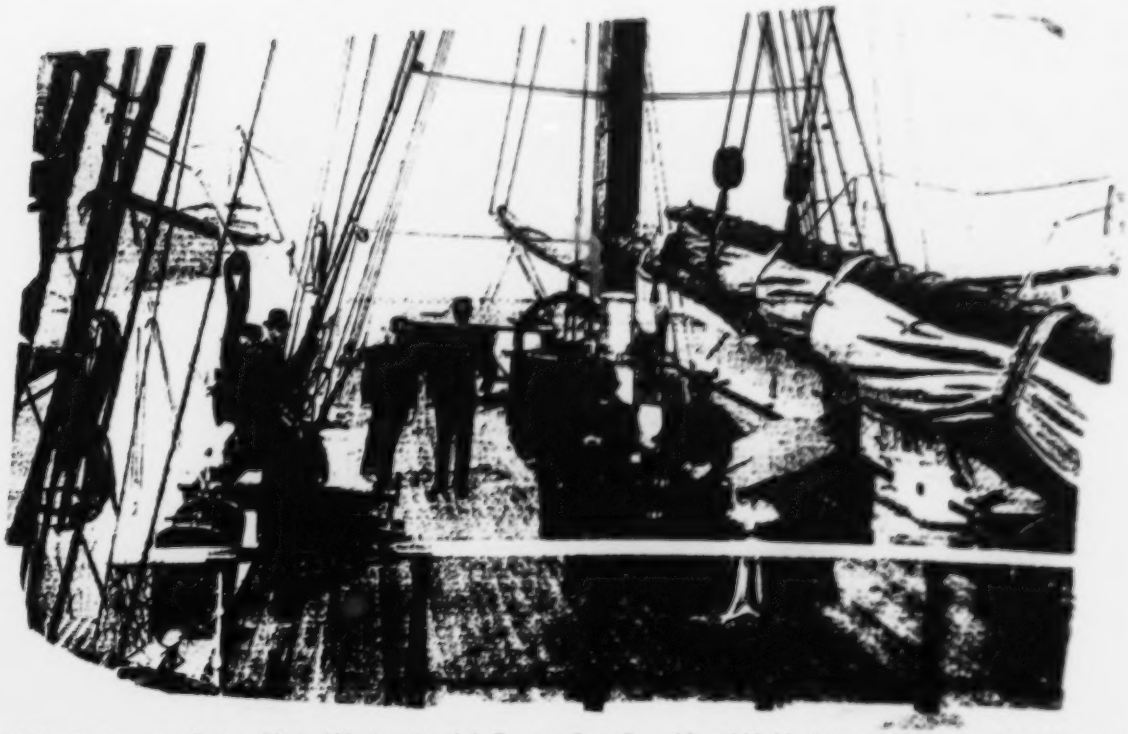


On nearing villages, the residents would paddle out to the Revenue Cutters to barter and trade. Jackson probably obtained artifacts during these visits. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #1567.

alone.[32] The summer of 1893 was Jackson's largest collecting year for the Sitka museum. Very few of those items were documented except in bulk fashion: for instance the society's minutes for August 21, 1893, simply noted the arrival of Jackson's donation of objects from the Arctic and Western Alaska without specifying what those objects were. Some of the objects probably came from Pt. Hope, but the next year another group of artifacts, primarily masks, were definitely gathered at Pt. Hope.[33] Jackson wrote in his diary of August 1, 1894, that he "Bought a large number of masks at from 2 to 3 cents each," and that "Engineer D.H. Coffin presented the Sitka museum with an old bone adze, which he had picked up in the cemetery at Pt. Hope."[34] The Sheldon Jackson Museum has other objects from the Pt. Hope cemetery, but the actual collector, or collectors, is unknown. Obviously someone, maybe even the Natives who had quickly learned of the white man's desire to trade for their material culture, took the masks and other objects from the cemeteries.[35]

Scarcely three years old, the small frame museum building could barely hold the incoming materials. On several occasions Jackson wrote to members of the society instructing them to open boxes and air out the contents and then rebox the artifacts until something could be done to remedy the overcrowding.[36]

Society members as well as Jackson were frustrated with the lack of space in the frame building. In their minds, the best hope of expanding the facility or constructing a new one lay in Jackson's determination to accomplish a project once begun. All that was



Sheldon Jackson with Captain Michael Healy on board the Revenue Cutter Bear, May 1890. Healy is second from the right and Jackson far left in the bowler hat. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #00259.

needed was to plant the idea of a new or bigger building in Jackson's mind and watch it germinate. Accordingly, as early as the end of 1891, William Kelly, superintendent of the training school wrote to Jackson assuring him that all the "curios" sent to the museum that year were being cared for as directed and adding almost as an afterthought the words: "I intend to see that the museum is named after you."[37] Two months later Kelly wrote to society secretary Cassia Patton suggesting that the society formally consider the idea of enlarging the museum building. Kelly commented about the many things Jackson had done for the society and Alaska in general, and urged the society to "give him honor and recognition and thus encourage him to do more."[38] At its March 1892 meeting, the society discussed the subject of naming the museum for Jackson; at the next meeting a week later, Patton read a resolution to name the society's building the Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library. The resolution was unanimously adopted with several members adding remarks concerning Jackson's generous contributions to the organization.[39] Cassia Patton sent Jackson a copy of the resolution informing him the Sitka museum would be named after him. Jackson thanked the society for the honor bestowed upon him and said he would "make arrangements for the erection of a fireproof building."[40]

But Jackson's plans for the new building did not come together as fast as he had hoped. Due to his wife's illness in the spring he did not leave the East Coast until May to start his summer tour. That delay, combined with the work on the reindeer project and collecting for the Columbian exposition, prevented Jackson from visiting Sitka at all during his 1892 tour

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

of Alaska. The fifteen hundred artifacts he collected that summer from other parts of Alaska did appear at the Sitka museum however; arriving from Dutch Harbor in April, 1893. Due to cramped space, these were quickly checked for moths or other damage and then stored in a corner along with numerous books Jackson had acquired from government departments in Washington, D.C.[41]

While the society struggled with space problems, Jackson began his campaign to raise funds for the construction of a new museum building. His prime target was Margaret Shepard, widow of Colonel Elliot F. Shepard, one of the men who suggested the formation of a scientific society back in 1887. In a long letter written in April 1893, Jackson explained to Mrs. Shepard that he felt certain her late husband would have wanted her to contribute to the building of a fireproof structure in Sitka. In his usual persuasive manner, Jackson reminded Mrs. Shepard of two important ideas which belonged to her husband: namely the formation of a scientific society and the usefulness of stone masonry for Native housing. By blending the two ideas together, Jackson hoped to entice Mrs. Shepard into donating as much as ten thousand dollars for the construction of a new museum.[42] While awaiting Mrs. Shepard's response, Jackson went ahead with building plans.

In August 1893, Jackson and the society formed a committee to research what type of building to erect. The committee recommended a wooden frame covered with iron on the outside and a mixture of cement and stone filling the spaces between the frames.[43] However, because none of the members had building experience other than wood frame structures, a final decision was deferred until more information—as well as some funding—could be obtained. The members had great faith in Jackson's ability to find the money and expertise for the structure; at the October 1893 meeting the treasurer reported only $84.88 in the treasury. The society was chronically underfunded even though dues had recently been set at $1 a year and visitors to the museum were being charged $.25 each.[44]

The next year, 1894, saw the country in a depression, with donors waiting for more stable times before investing in projects such as Jackson's.[45] Meanwhile, and incredibly, Jackson stumbled on the perfect man to construct the new museum. John G. Smith, a building contractor and devout Baptist from Boston, was knowledgeable about concrete construction and a great supporter of Christian missions. So eager was Smith to do Christian work that he prepared to leave Boston in February 1894, to travel to Sitka with Jackson. With the project delayed by funding difficulties, however, Smith ended up staying in Boston, where he remained committed to helping Jackson develop plans for a museum building.[46]

While waiting for funding to come through, Jackson took time in the spring of 1894 to smooth some ruffled feathers within the Revenue Cutter Service. For the previous four summers Captain Healy and his crew had assisted in getting Jackson to and from his various schools and missions, as instructed. However, by late 1893, Jackson's continual requests and expectations of assistance beyond mere transportation drove Healy to complain to his superior. "The doctor is so persistent and unreasonable in his commands... I often have to be rude and choke him off".... Healy wrote, continuing, "He is like a 'hopper grass,' I sit on him today and he jumps up tomorrow." Healy felt that Jackson had led teachers and missionaries to believe "the *Bear* goes and comes at his bidding."[47]

Healy had plenty of reason to complain. During the summer and fall of 1892 he and his crew, besides doing the regular reindeer and teaching stations circuit with Jackson, ended up with the responsibility of building crates for,

and packing, loading, and transferring from the *Bear* to the Southern Pacific Railroad at San Francisco, approximately five hundred artifacts bound for the Columbian exposition in Chicago.[48] The next summer, 1893, Jackson collected almost three thousand objects for the Sitka museum. Fortunately for Healy, Jackson disembarked from the *Bear* in early July, taking most of his artifacts with him.[49]

Captain Michael Healy of the Revenue Cutter "Bear" ca. 1890. Jackson sailed with Healy off and on for over 12 years. Healy and his crews often assisted Jackson in building schools, collecting artifacts and delivering them to Sitka and other ports. Photo courtesy of the U.S. Coast Guard Historian's Office, Washington D. C.

Shortly after returning to the East Coast in October 1893, Jackson wrote to Cassia Patton suggesting she send an official letter of thanks to Captain Healy for his assistance in collecting and transporting artifacts to the Sitka museum. Jackson also proposed a public reception in honor of Captain and Mrs. Healy to be held during their stopover in Sitka the following May.

Paid for in part out of Jackson's own pocket, the reception took place on the 15th of May. According to a report in the *Alaskan* (newspaper) this was one of the most "notable social events" to have occurred in Sitka in some time.[50] Noting in his diary that all the "principal Government officials, Naval Officers and Citizens were present," Jackson appeared to see the event as a political success as well. The reception seemed to have served its intended purpose, for over the next six years, no further condemning letters went from Healy to his commander concerning Jackson or his requests.[51]

Before leaving for the East Coast in the fall of 1894, Jackson chose a site on the grounds of the training school for the new museum and had it cleared in preparation for construction the next summer.[52] During a stopover in San Francisco, Jackson met with architect Charles Geddes, who drew up plans for an octagonal concrete structure.[53] As no record of payment to Geddes has been found, it is possible that Geddes, like building contractor John Smith, may have donated his services to Jackson.

Jackson forwarded Geddes' blueprints to Smith, who had moved to Los Angeles, California. Smith had not lost his enthusiasm for building a concrete structure in Sitka as a model for Native housing and, liking the plans, committed himself to the project. Smith rearranged his schedule in order to meet Jackson in San Francisco in May of 1895.[54]

Having received a commitment from Smith prior to traveling to Sitka to supervise the construction of the new museum building, Jackson returned to the work of soliciting funds from East Coast supporters. Mrs. Shepard and another recent widow, Mrs. William Thaw, were high on Jackson's list of potential donors. The women received almost identical letters from Jackson outlining the Society's plan to erect a stone or "grout" building as a fireproof home for its collection and to be used as a model for inexpensive Native housing; from each recipient Jackson

The octagon building Jackson had constructed in 1895 to house the society's collection was also the fist concrete structum in Alaska. This photograph was taken ca. 1904. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Chum h (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #1909.

solicited $2,000. With $1,000 of his own money, and possibly $2,000 from each widow, Jackson felt confident he could complete the museum project. Smith would work for the token sum of $50, and training school students would supply free labor. Jackson thought the building would be completed by the end of the summer of 1895.[55]

By April 1895, Mrs. Shepard had agreed to donate the $2,000 Jackson requested, but Mrs. Thaw was unable to promise any money for the project that summer.[56] The shortfall did not deter Jackson. He immediately set about ordering building materials from Galt Brothers Company and Gordon Hardware in Seattle, instructing the suppliers to bill him in Washington, D.C.[57]

For the first time in five years, Jackson spent his entire summer in Southeast Alaska, kept there by the combination of poor health and a determination to personally oversee the construction of a fireproof structure for the society's collection. Jackson's "sidewalk superintending" combined with Smith's expertise and the help of Native labor, resulted in the walls of the museum being raised by mid-July. Smith headed home leaving the roofing and interior work to be completed by training school students.[58] The building, a concrete octagon with a glass cupola appeared to many to be a curio itself. When William Wells, a Tlingit interpreter and right-hand man to Jackson, was instructed to hire another man plus a team of horses and haul in "two big piles of sand and gravel," his friends laughed, wanting to know how Jackson could build a house with just sand and gravel from the beach. In response, Wells told his friends, "I don't know how he would do it, but

I had helped Dr. Jackson do many things and I had never seen him get stuck yet."[59]

Unfortunately, Jackson's fireproof structure did not immediately prove to be waterproof. Soon after the walls were up, the newly placed roof and floor began to leak. The society's collection continued its crowded existence in the old frame structure through the winter of 1895 waiting for the leaks to be corrected. The society had a drainage ditch dug to keep water from entering the building through the floor, but more came in through the deteriorating roof. Jackson advised the society to halt all work until he returned to Sitka the following spring to inspect the building.

Jackson's first roofing order in April of 1895 was simply insufficient protection from the persistent rains of Southeast Alaska. Not until January 1897 was a new corrugated iron roof in place on the octagonal building.[60] While the records are not clear as to the delay, it is likely that Jackson required time to raise the funds for repairs.

According to the *Alaskan*, the new museum building was open for business by June, 1897. In March of that year, Jackson had written to curator Frederick Frobese encouraging him to be ready to meet the summer's tourists in the new building. He also informed Frobese that he instructed William Kelly to train one of the schoolboys to make change and act as doorkeeper at the museum. Jackson instructed Frobese to go home and dress up whenever he heard the gun notifying the town a steamer had arrived. However, on Sundays the museum was to remained locked and was "not to be opened under any circumstances...no matter who or how influential...."[61]

The society held its first meeting in the new museum on July 12, 1897. Unfortunately, Jackson could not attend since his travels and activities left him with no time to stop in Sitka that summer. John Brady, Jackson's longtime friend and a fellow member of the society, spoke in Jackson's absence. Having recently returned from Washington D.C. where he had visited the Smithsonian Institution, Brady remarked that the Sheldon Jackson Museum's collections, particularly the Eskimo portion, rivaled those he had seen in the Smithsonian. In addition, Brady reminded the society members that it would be up to them to continue working even after Jackson was gone.[62]

Once the new museum opened, Jackson's shipments changed in content and quantity. From 1897 on, he sent fewer pieces and many of these were historical rather than ethnological pieces. Examples of later donations include the rudder from the sunken ship *John Hancock*, Russian cannons, Orthodox Church paraphernalia, and the United States flag reportedly flown at the Alaska transfer ceremony of 1867. A few ethnological pieces, including a ladder used by Siberian Natives to enter their homes, a kamleika sewing frame, snow shoes, and occasionally, natural history specimens still trickled in from Jackson.[63]

Even with relatively few objects coming into the collection, no one had yet taken on the responsibility of developing a formal records system for the museum. Despite the suggestion of Jackson and other society members to remedy this situation little, other than Jackson's short notes written on objects, was ever completed during his life time.

When Jackson learned in 1900 that a group of Eskimos passing through Sitka was waiting to be transported back to the Arctic, he advised the society to take advantage of their presence to "secure the names and uses of the Eskimo specimens in the museum as are not labeled" and to have some objects repaired.[64] While no record remains of any information gleaned from the Eskimos, there are obvious

The society often sold duplicate artifacts in order to help meet expenses. This list was published by F.E. Frobese, the first Curator, sometime between 1888 and 1900. Original at Stratten Library, Sheldon Jackson College.

Around 1904 E. W. Merrill, local Sitka photographer, took a series of photos of the interior of the Museum and the artifacts it housed. Photo courtesy of the Alaska State Library, PCA 57-157.

repairs on several of the larger artifacts in the museum's collection. A freight sled, a Siberian reindeer sled mentioned specifically by Jackson, and an Aleut baidarka collected by Jackson in the 1890s, have all undergone some sort of repairs or modifications. The baidarka may actually have been completed by the visiting Eskimos.[65]

After 1897 Jackson's role within the society was more advisory than participatory. He sent a few artifacts to the museum, and often made suggestions, but the membership depended less and less on Jackson's help. Jackson attended the meeting in October 1896, at which the society added bylaws prohibiting the removal of any object from the collection except under extraordinary circumstances and then only with a three-quarters vote of the membership present at that meeting. Immediately following the decision, Jackson moved that the "original" transfer flag not be allowed to leave the museum under any circumstances.[66] After the change in bylaws, duplicate artifacts were no longer sold. Although in 1900, Jackson received at least one request from a prospective buyer, the man was informed that no "curios" were for sale.[67] The society's sense of responsibility as a keeper of the public trust was becoming evident.

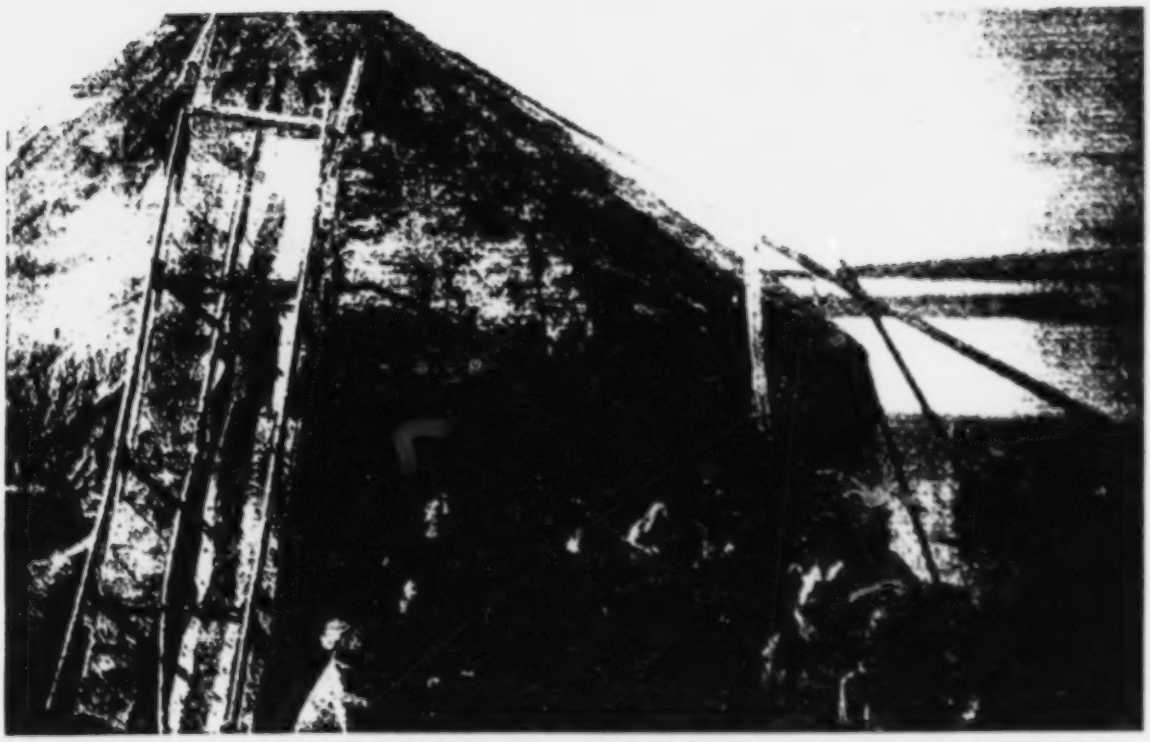
Despite Jackson's changing interests, he never completely gave up support for the society. The interest was still there but focused in a different direction. Jackson continued

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

publicizing his Sitka museum: he attracted researchers from around the world to use the society as a principal source of information on northern cultures and environments. Occasionally, Jackson would speak at scientific organizations, share notes on observations, or arrange for scientists to do studies in the Arctic.[68] As Jackson's interest turned elsewhere, his stops in Sitka became less frequent, the society seemed to be losing interest in its own work. A few members attempted to keep the group active, but meetings slacked off markedly after 1897. Attempts at revival were short-lived. After William Kelly's election as president in late 1898, the society had a brief flurry of activity with meetings, new acquisitions, and preservation projects. But when the John Brady family left Alaska for good in 1906, the society again diminished. Kelly tried to arouse interest again in 1909, perhaps in honor of Jackson, who died in May of that year. The society survived only another two years.[69]

One of Jackson's last acts for the society was an attempt to clarify ownership, the question of which had been brought up in February 1895 when the Board of Home Missions wrote Jackson inquiring who owned the museum. If the museum was not owned by the board, then why should the board pay the salary of Mr. Frobese, the curator? While Jackson's reply to the board has been lost, in a letter to Mrs. Margaret Shepard written just two months later, Jackson states that the new museum building "will be the property of the Board of Home Missions."[70] In 1904, when queries about insurance on the museum and its contents raised again the question of ownership, Jackson apparently believed that the building belonged to the Board of Home Missions but that the collection could be claimed by the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology. He emphasized that long-term control was to remain in the hands of the Presbyterian Church. Jackson pointed out, however, that the owners, no matter who they were, were "only a trustee for the general public" and that this valuable collection should remain in the "interest of science and the general public."[71]

Jackson had served the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology well during his many years of association with the group. Financing the construction of two buildings, bringing thousands of artifacts and books to the museum, encouraging the writing of papers and scientific research, Jackson launched a world-class museum while creating a place that Alaska Natives could visit in order to see "how their fathers lived."



Jackson made a number of trips to Siberia with Captain Healy, first to reward local Natives for taming a tailor and later to purchase reindeer for importation to Alaska. He was asked by officials of the Columbian Exposition of 1893 to collect a yurt like the one seen here, but declined the job stating it would be too "cumbersome" to transport. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #627.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

CHAPTER 8

At the Front

The 1884-85 World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition in New Orleans, Louisiana, was the first major exposition for which Sheldon Jackson created an Alaska exhibit to demonstrate to the general public the progress of missionary work on the American frontier. The success in Louisiana led Jackson to participate in many more expositions to "show the world that the chain of forts [missions] are at the front" spreading "the word" to America's "heathen."[1] General John Eaton, Commissioner of Education for the United States, suggested to his friend Jackson the idea of creating a display about the Sheldon Jackson Institute in Sitka. Eaton, who would later become Jackson's boss when the latter was appointed General Agent of Education for Alaska, was a believer in the power of the expositions to educate citizens. Jackson cites one of Eaton's early exhibits in the Louisville Exposition of 1883-1884 as the principal incentive behind his decision to enter the New Orleans exposition.[2] Over the next two decades Jackson exhibited or represented Alaska at five major expositions.

As General Agent of Education for Alaska, Jackson no longer needed any encouragement from his superiors to develop exhibits for world's expositions. In the spring of 1890, Jackson received a letter from Frederick Frobese, curator of the Sheldon Jackson Museum, concerning the World's Columbian Exposition to be held in Chicago in 1893. Frobese had contracted with Lt. George T. Emmons, who was in charge of the Alaska exhibit, to prepare species of Alaskan fish for exhibition.[3] The letter hinted that Jackson had not yet been officially invited to collect for the Alaskan exhibit. Finally, the Curator of Ethnology for the Columbian exposition, Professor F. W. Putnam, wrote Jackson and asked him to "collect all relating to native customs, particularly Siberian habitations and contents." Putnam, the curator at the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard, desired to put together an extensive exhibit about aboriginal peoples.

Jackson, the experienced Arctic and Siberian traveler, explained to Putnam that it would be virtually impossible to obtain a Siberian hut or tent. They were too "cumbersome and so dirty," it would not be practical to attempt to bring one to Chicago.[4] Putman made $500 available for Jackson to purchase items he wanted, but must have been

disappointed when Jackson sent him only two parkas in the spring of 1892.[5] Despite the honor of having such a distinguished ethnologist as Putnam seek his help, Jackson's sluggishness in tracking down materials for the exposition is hard to explain. Perhaps he felt that the exhibit did not directly promote his own interests, or he simply ran out of time.

Putnam, Emmon, Frobese, and Eaton all stirred, in one manner or another, Jackson's interest in putting together an Alaskan educational exhibit for the Columbian exposition. During his Arctic summer tour of 1891, Jackson made arrangements for the collection of material at Haines, Yakutat, Jackson, Cape Prince of Wales, Point Hope, and other areas. Employing his usual strategy, Jackson left food and supplies for the teachers to trade for "curios." Jackson would then either pick up the artifacts on his trip the next summer, or ship them directly to Chicago via San Francisco. Most of his collections in 1891, however, went to the Sitka museum.[6] A total of close to five hundred artifacts collected during the summers of 1891 and 1892 eventually went to Chicago.

Jackson's expertise at self-publicity also must have impressed the organizers of the Columbian exposition. Chief of the Department of Liberal Arts, H. Peabody, wrote to Jackson in November of 1891 asking his advice on how to set up the educational exhibits. Peabody wanted to know if each state should be represented or only the best examples chosen from across the country. Alaska's entry must have been by then a foregone conclusion since Peabody inquired how much space would be needed for the Alaska exhibit.[7]

From close examination of the record—including Peabody's letter; letters from Lt. Emmons; letters to Cassia Patton, Secretary of the Society in Alaska; and awards won by Jackson—it is evident that Jackson had two separate exhibits in Chicago: one his well-known ethnological collection, and the other an educational exhibit which may have included some ethnological materials.

Jackson wrote to Cassia Patton in September of 1892 telling her about a group of "curios" from Yakutat that would be among the boxes he was sending to Sitka. Jackson wrote of the objects: "I ordered them last season for the school exhibit at Columbian exposition, but Dr. Harris (the new Commissioner of Education) has changed the scope of the exhibit & therefore I have purchased them for Sitka."[8]

At some point Dr. Harris apparently decided the educational exhibit should only contain the school works of Native students, plans for further expansion, documents, photographs of the pupils and their lifestyle, and information on the introduction of reindeer.

Had Dr. Harris not made this change, the many objects Jackson sent to Sitka that summer would now be in Chicago with the rest of Jackson's Columbian exposition ethnological collection. Jackson somehow managed to get two exhibits for the price of one, plus enhance the collection at Sitka with an impressive assortment of material originally bound for Chicago.

The awards received by Jackson for both the ethnological collection and the educational exhibit indicate they were well received by the judges and others interested in Alaska. John Eaton, the former Commissioner of Education, judged Jackson's ethnology exhibit and wrote:

> This collection...contains many articles of value, ethnologically. The kayak and all its belongings is complete...collection of harpoons and spears...the clothing,...Eskimo masks,...pipes. The entire collection bears the marks of an intelligent design on the part of the collector.[9]

Among those collecting for Jackson's Columbian Exposition exhibit were Mr. Lopp, second from left, and Mr. Gibson, second from right at Port Clarence in 1892. Dr. Jackson is to the far left. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #293.

There is no information available as to what happened to the materials in the education exhibit; however, it can be assumed that some of the photographs, plans and documents showed up in later Bureau of Education exhib-its or possibly in Jackson's personal collections.[10]

The fate of the ethnological collection is well documented. Following the closing of the Columbian exposition, F.W. Putnam, curator of the Ethnology Department for the exposition, collaborated with millionaire Marshall Field to create a permanent "world class" collection for the city of Chicago. Putnam provided the guidance for setting up a museum in what had been the Columbian exposition's Palace of Fine Arts, and Field, along with a few other wealthy patrons, provided the money.[11]

The Field Museum of Natural History opened in 1894, with thousands of objects acquired from the World's Columbian Exposition on display. Two hundred and seventy-nine of those were purchased from Dr. Sheldon Jackson for $500.[12] It is uncertain whether Jackson accepted this money on his own behalf, to reimburse himself for objects bought with his own funds, or if he accepted the money on behalf of the Bureau of

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Education. According to Jackson's accounting records for 1891, at one station alone he consigned $492 worth of trade goods to the teacher, Mr. Lopp "to be traded off for myself." Jackson's correspondence and diary entries do not clarify if the money he left Lopp was his own or government money or if when referring to goods being traded for "himself" he meant for "his" (actually the) Bureau of Education's exhibit at the Columbian.[13]

We do not know for sure that those goods left with Lopp were actually traded for artifacts; it is merely an assumption based on a list of figures and a few notes in Jackson's diary stating where and when he consigned the goods. Since Jackson did record that he purchased a number of items during the summer of 1891 and 1892, he may very well have paid for all the materials that went to Chicago and simply reimbursed himself and his village agents when the Field Museum purchased this collection.

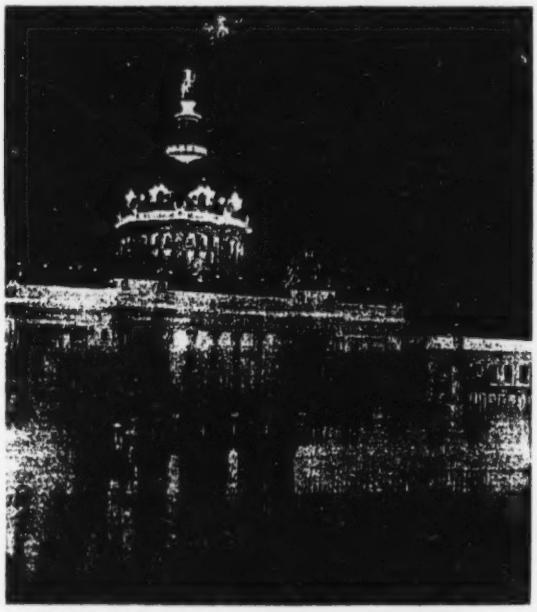
Attempts have been made to prove Jackson used government money for other than specified purposes, but nothing other than poor management on his part has ever been documented. To Jackson's way of thinking, buying objects to exhibit at the Columbian exposition was a totally legitimate use of government funds—especially if, in the end, his Alaskan programs were served. Of the approximately five hundred objects Jackson acquired for the Columbian Exposition, about two hundred and seventy-nine remained at the Field Museum while a few were returned to the Sitka museum.[15] There are direct references to a freight sled and a whale jawbone being shipped to the Sitka museum from Chicago but complete lists of returned objects have not been found.[16] Even if the sled was completely outfitted with all its accoutrements (as was a kayak mentioned by the judges) there would still be more than one hundred objects unaccounted for from Jackson's Columbian exhibit.[17]

There is no firm evidence concerning what happened to the "missing" artifacts, but there are two solid possibilities. The simplest explanation would be that Jackson added the unsold pieces to his personal collection. A second possibility lies with the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology (UMMA). In their collections are one hundred twenty-nine objects purchased in 1929 from William Peterson. Peterson had already tried unsuccessfully to sell the objects to the Field Museum. Staff at the UMMA have long believed most of the Peterson collection was originally collected by Jackson. In fact, there is one Chilkat robe unquestionably documented to Jackson. The artifacts in the UMMA collection are from the late nineteenth century and are consistent with the type of materials Jackson collected.[18] It is possible that more extensive research may eventually solve the question of whether Jackson sold the artifacts not purchased by the Field Museum to Peterson. The name of William Peterson was not found in any of Jackson's papers or any Alaskan newspapers examined in the preparation of this book.

The Columbian exposition did succeed in bringing widespread attention to Jackson, to his museum in Sitka, and to Alaska. In 1896 Jackson was appointed to the honorary post of Commissioner from Alaska at the International Exposition in Mexico City.[19] In the same year Jackson was asked to loan his "Alaska Museum" to the upcoming Tennessee Centennial Celebration. Obviously Jackson did not think it practical nor suitable to loan the entire collection to Tennessee or anyone else. In fact, in October 1896 the society amended its bylaws to insure none of the collection left the museum without majority approval and only

then under "extraordinary occasion."[20]

While Jackson was taking care to protect the collection in Sitka from the more detrimental consequences of his spreading fame, he grew more involved in creating an ever larger monument to his work. In the summer of 1896, Jackson left trade goods at various northern posts for the purpose of acquiring objects for the Bureau of Education exhibit in Omaha, Nebraska. He hoped that following the exposition, the collection would provide the foundation for a new museum at the proposed Sheldon Jackson College in Salt Lake City, Utah.



Jackson's exhibit at the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition in Omaha, Nebraska in 1898, took up over half the space allotted for the Bureau of Education exhibit in the U.S. Government Building shown here. Photo courtesy of the Donald G. Larson Collection, Sanoian Special Collections

For several years Jackson had been actively involved in the creation of a Presbyterian college in Salt Lake. Since much of his early mission work was done in that area, he deeded land in Washington, D.C., worth $50,000 to help found the institution—on condition it forever be called the Sheldon Jackson College.[21]

However, Jackson's last major collection never made it to Salt Lake City. In 1896 and again in 1901, a few objects, including Eskimo bone armor, arrived in Salt Lake City, much to the dismay of the college president. The college could hardly keep its doors open financially, let alone pay for shipping objects to its nonexistent museum.[22] That the college could not afford a museum was clear to Jackson early enough to prevent his moving the entire collection from Omaha to Salt Lake City. Instead of a small college museum in Utah being the focal point for Jackson's last great collection, the Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898 in Omaha, Nebraska bears that distinction. At this exposition the people of Nebraska wanted to show the world how they had recovered from the economic slump of the late 1880s and to highlight the state's potential as the gateway to the riches of the developing trans-Mississippi West.[23] The exposition in Omaha must have seemed like the perfect showcase for Jackson's work in the "last frontier."

Jackson's agents in Alaska spent the winters of 1896 and 1897 trading, buying, and setting aside a huge collection of Eskimo material culture for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition. This time there was no question as to who purchased the objects. Jackson clearly stated in his diary that he purchased the items directly or left goods to be traded for them, and paid back what he had borrowed from government supplies.[24]

Objects were shipped to Jackson from Unalaklik, Cape Prince of Wales, Anvik, Carmel, St. Lawrence Island, and the Noatak,

Kowak (sic), Selinik, Krehshlarok, Buckland, and Kogorook river areas. The surviving lists of objects obtained by Jackson's agents included over 520 objects or groups of objects.[25] When this collection finally ended its tour of world's expositions in 1910 as a transfer from the Bureau of Education to the Smithsonian Institution, there were 1,259 objects. Although Jackson did not collect many of the pieces firsthand, it was through his efforts that the collection was assembled.[26]

In 1897, Jackson took his only trip down the Yukon and into the interior. He is wearing a protective mosquito netting. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).

The collection made its appearance in Omaha, taking up over half the exhibit space allotted for the Bureau of Education in the U.S. Government Building.[27] Not only was the size of the collection impressive, but its contents captured a moment of transition in the history of the Eskimo people. Just in the five years since Jackson had put together the Columbian exposition collection, obvious changes were evident in lifestyles and material cultures on the Bering Sea and Arctic Ocean. Far more items made especially for sale appeared on the Trans-Mississippi shipping lists than were found in the Columbian exposition collection; most were made from metal, fabric, beads, and other Euro-American trade items.[28]

Following the Trans-Mississippi Exposition Jackson found himself with a huge collection of artifacts which had no home. How and where exactly he stored some 1,200 objects for the better part of the next few years is unknown. The collection must have traveled with him to his home in Washington, D.C., where it was probably stored for a time.

In 1901, Jackson received yet another invitation to exhibit at a world's exposition. Earlier in his exhibiting career, Jackson had received an invitation to exhibit at an

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

An aging Sheldon Jackson (just to the left of the sign) in front of a bank in Nome during his last trip to Alaska in 1902. Photo courtesy of the Department of History and Records Management Services, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), Philadelphia, #00170

industrial fair in Buffalo, New York. This time, Buffalo would be hosting the Pan-American Exposition, a full-fledged world's exposition.[29] Dr. A.L. Benedict, Superintendent for the Ethnological Building, wanted Jackson to exhibit his "Alaska Indian Relics." Benedict told Jackson that most of the space was taken up, but less valuable exhibits would be turned out to make room for his. Ultimately, Jackson's Arctic collection was mounted in the U.S. Government Building. The Commemorative Diploma Jackson received cited his contributions under the U.S. Department of the Interior.[30]

Although the Pan-American Exposition emphasized arts and industry, Jackson's education exhibit still drew interest. Even before the Pan-American Exposition closed, Jackson obtained yet another proposition to exhibit. Arthur C. Jackson, president of the Alaska Geographical Society, asked Jackson to provide an Eskimo family in full panoply—reindeer, skin boats, and a small dog-team with sled—for the Alaska Geographical Society's exhibit at the Charleston Exposition in Charleston, South Carolina, which opened in December of 1901.

Jackson was in Alaska when the letter caught up with him in September of 1901. There was simply no time for arrangements to be made for this exposition, and Jackson later learned that someone in Nome already had the

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

idea of taking an Eskimo family to Charleston.[31]

Jackson was sixty-seven years old at the closing of the Pan-American Exposition. With retirement on his mind, Jackson decided to sell a portion of the "Trans-Mississippi" collection to his boss, Dr. W. T. Harris, at the Bureau of Education. John Brady tried to persuade Jackson to loan his Arctic collection for the Alaska exhibit at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis, Missouri, but it had already been sold to the bureau.[32] At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, the Trans-Mississippi collection was exhibited in the bureau's school exhibit, along with a collection of school work Jackson had gathered from teachers and students around the territory. Jackson did, however, loan some of his personal "rare curios of Alaska" for display in Brady's Alaska exhibit.[33]

The following year, Brady wanted to use the Bureau of Education's Alaska school exhibit in Portland, Oregon, for the Lewis and Clark Exposition. Jackson, though, had finally wearied of the exposition business; he warned Brady "the school exhibits which are private property...had better be returned to Washington D.C."[34]

The Trans-Mississippi collection is second only in size to Jackson's collections at the Sheldon Jackson Museum in Sitka. Launched in 1896, the Trans-Mississippi collection is known to have been exhibited at two major expositions under Jackson's ownership and at two other expositions under the Bureau of Education. According to accession information from the National Museum of Natural History, the collection of ethnographic material, including Sheldon Jackson's Arctic collection, owned by the Bureau of Education, was transferred to the National Museum of Natural History in 1910 when the bureau closed its museum. The history of the collection stated that the specimens were used in "various expositions" until 1910.[35]

If the bureau continued to exhibit at the ever-popular expositions, Jackson's Trans-Mississippi collection could very well have been exhibited in up to five more venues. Possibly the last time this collection appeared at an exposition was the 1909 Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle, Washington.[36]

Following the closure of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific, the bureau would have transferred the collection to its permanent home, the National Museum of Natural History at the Smithsonian Institution.

Although Jackson's collecting is represented by five thousand objects at the Sheldon Jackson Museum, around three hundred artifacts at Princeton, and about the same number at the Field Museum, the Trans-Mississippi collection —considering its widespread exposure— should be viewed as one of Jackson's most important collections. Now a part of the nation's collections, it continues to give researchers insights into the Native cultures of Alaska.

The Smithsonian is home to many other objects collected by Sheldon Jackson. Most were sold to the museum from his personal collection by Lesley and Delhia Jackson in 1921, twelve years after the death of their father.[37] Other materials came directly from Jackson during the years he traversed Alaska setting up schools and importing reindeer. Jackson often sent objects to institutions or people without first asking if the objects were wanted or needed. Smithsonian curators, however, had come to rely on Jackson's assistance in filling gaps in their collections. For example, in 1893, Thomas Wilson of the

Smithsonian wrote to Jackson and asked for his help in obtaining a mastodon tusk. At the request of F.W. True, another Smithsonian curator, Jackson learned how to prepare animal skins so he could provide specimens collected from along the Yukon. Jackson promised to search for bear skulls from all parts of Alaska for C. Hart Merrimen, and furnish pressed flower samples for Frederick V. Coville, other Smithsonian staff. George Brown Goode, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian, recognized Jackson's efforts and encouraged him to continue sending artifacts and specimens. Smithsonian curators were still asking Jackson for his opinion on ethnological matters and asking him to collect specimens for them in Siberia and the Arctic past the turn of the century.[38]

Both the Department of Agriculture and the National Weather Bureau sought out Jackson either for the purposes of collecting specimens or providing data for them.[39] Researchers, such as well-known anthropologist Franz Boaz, solicited information on assorted topics. One researcher wanted information on the physical measurements of Native people, someone else was interested in Native dolls and doll play, while yet another request came on how to go about obtaining bears for zoological parks.[40]

Jackson was not a scientist; neither did he adhere to even minimum scientific procedures in his own work. But those in scientific disciplines sought him out for information on Alaska, its environment and Native people. The list of scientific organizations seeking his membership or his expertise for lectures is astonishing (see appendix B)! Even if Jackson had limited his lecturing and writing to just scientific or educational and religious groups, his schedule would have overwhelmed most. The amount of collecting he did, especially in his Alaska years, would have been a full-time occupation for some.

All of these activities, secondary to his actual responsibilities to the Presbyterian Church and later the U.S. Government, were carried out with as much energy as were his professional duties. One wonders how a man of supposedly poor health, who divided his year between two sides of a continent linked only by stage, rail, and steamship, began and accomplished so much.

In addition to the impressive collections of artifacts, both private and public, Jackson collected and preserved a great deal of his own history. From 1855 to 1909 Jackson, perhaps along with his wife and daughters, clipped and pasted newspaper and periodical articles, tickets, programs, family records, commissions, and miscellaneous memorabilia into sixty-five scrapbooks amounting to eleven rolls of microfilm. The original collection at the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, is an outstanding primary source in most respects; however, Jackson was not as careful as researchers today would have liked him to be in citing the dates and origins of his articles.[41]

The best primary source material on Jackson is his incoming and outgoing correspondence. With fastidiousness characteristic of a born collector, Jackson in 1904 hired a pool of secretaries to transcribe from the manuscript all of his incoming correspondence from 1856 to 1904, with updates through his death in 1909. Some regard this as merely another of his immortalization schemes, but to any researcher who has had to wade through scribbled, scrawled, faded manuscripts, the transcriptions seem to be an indication of Jackson's farsightedness.

Another collection of Jackson's papers,

primarily outgoing correspondence, is preserved in the Speer Library of the Princeton University Theological Seminary. Jackson's penchant for saving and collecting everything that came across his desk has indeed been a blessing for researchers.

Housed at the Presbyterian Historical Society is a large photograph collection put together by Jackson between 1877 and 1907. Part of the collection contains images of Native Americans from around the United States, with heavy emphasis on Alaska Natives. Jackson always tried to make sure there was a photographer on board the cutter when he took his summer trips to the Arctic. Many of the images appeared in his education reports and the *Report on the Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska.* The images often portray Natives in traditional costume, and others show assimilated Natives in training schools, missions, and colleges. Some of the images are simple mementos.

In 1907, just a year before his retirement, Jackson began to collect photographs of the missionaries and teachers he had worked with over the years. He asked them to send photographs of themselves for a collection he was assembling for use in general mission publications, and as documentation of the mission work done in Alaska since its beginnings in 1877.[42] The beauty of this collection is that it is quite apparent that Jackson, at the end of his career, was not simply looking back—rather, he was looking ahead to the future when people would begin to piece together the story of the great cultural transitions witnessed in Alaska during his tenure in the territory.

In June of 1908, after fifty years of doing "the Lord's work," and shortly before the death of his wife, Mary, Jackson tendered his resignation as General Agent of Education for Alaska. During the following months, Jackson continued his efforts to bring the story of Alaska and its people to the attention of the American public by speaking at conferences and universities on the East Coast.

In the spring of 1909, continuing health problems forced Jackson to undergo his second surgery in two years for what his biographers describe as "acute internal disorders."[43] Up to the last, Jackson followed his own strong sense of direction by refusing an order of medication from his doctors that might have prolonged his life: "My orders are that I am not to take it. I am going to die."[44] Weakened by a severe cold just before the surgery, Jackson died five days following the procedure. After a lifetime of adventure, hardship and adversity, and fulfillment "at the front," Sheldon Jackson perished in the warm, luxurious, resort town of Asheville, North Carolina, where he had come to rest and restore his health. He died on May 2, 1909, and was buried in Minaville, New York, his boyhood home.[45]

Afterword

Sheldon Jackson today remains a man with both devoted supporters and indignant detractors. However, one aspect of Jackson's character that should not be overshadowed by this conflict was his incredible ability to think past his own time into the future.

From early childhood Sheldon Jackson collected and preserved things of interest to him. As his world expanded into regions populated with strange and fascinating cultures at odds with his strict Calvinist view of life, Jackson yearned to proselytize and give these cultures what he felt would be a chance for survival in an altered world. The central paradox of his life was that as he actively worked to impose change, yet he desired to preserve aspects of these traumatized cultures.

While in the Rocky Mountains and the Southwest in the 1870s, Jackson's collecting was egocentric. He visited ancient ruins and living villages not only because of his fascination for the past and other cultures but also to acquire "curios." Some of these objects became part of his personal collection which eventually was deposited in the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, or with his descendants.[1] Most of the objects he collected in those early days, however, were sold to raise money for the Raven Fund (a mission fund), used in lecturing, became premiums for Eastern supporters, or were distributed as gifts to friends and relatives.

After coming to Alaska in 1877, his collecting gained another dimension. Establishing a permanent collection at the Princeton University Theological Seminary in 1879 was designed to acquaint and encourage seminary students in the Home Mission field.[2] The collection soon became a part of Princeton University's Museum of Natural History and became available to all who had an interest in anthropology.

In 1887, a group of visiting dignitaries from the East Coast suggested that Jackson organize a scientific group dedicated to collecting and preserving the natural and cultural history of Alaska. He helped create the Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology to preserve the cultures of Alaska so that the "coming generations of natives [could see] how their fathers lived."[3]

Jackson's collecting has unquestionably extended far beyond that noble ideal. Since the first lectures using lantern slides and "curios," Sheldon Jackson's collections have served to

The Sheldon Jackson Museum, 1997.

educate and enlighten people from around the world. Following his death, the collections continued to be sought for special exhibits and publications. Objects from the Princeton collection have appeared in, and are still requested for special exhibits around the United States (see appendix A).

The Seattle World's Fair in 1962 featured an exhibit on the Native people of the Northwest with pieces from both the Sheldon Jackson Museum and the Princeton collection. Both institutions also loaned artifacts to such prestigious exhibits as "The Far North: 2000 Years of American Eskimo and Indian Art" which opened at the Smithsonian's National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., in 1973.[4] From that large exhibit came a smaller one which traveled to Alaska and five other sites around the country including the Thomas Burke Memorial Museum in Seattle, Washington, the Amon Carter Museum of Western Art in Ft. Worth, Texas, and the Boston Museum of Fine Art in Boston, Massachusetts.

Artifacts have also been loaned to the San Francisco Folk Art Museum, the Anchorage Museum of History and Art, and the Shed Aquarium in Chicago. Some of the Jackson pieces at the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., traveled in 1991 with the international exhibit of Alaskan and Siberian cultures, "Crossroads of the Continents." Other pieces from the Sheldon Jackson Museum were loaned to the Washington State Historical Society and Anchorage Museum of History and Art in 1993 as part of the traveling exhibit "Russian America: The Forgotten Frontier."[5] Since Jackson's death, literally hundreds of thousands of people have had the opportunity to further their understanding and appreciation of the indigenous people of the North Pacific rim.

Researchers, scholars, and publishers from around the world continue to request photographs and information on the material collected by Jackson over one hundred years ago. Each year hundreds of local and out-of-town school groups use the Sheldon Jackson

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Museum as a primary educational resource. The pride many Native children take in the museum is a testament to Jackson's foresight in creating it. In addition, dozens of Native and non-Native artists and craftspeople visit the museum in order to see examples of how the "old folks" wove baskets, carved in wood, bone, ivory, and silver, or crafted kayaks. Others come simply to find inspiration and pride in objects that otherwise would not be available to them.[6] Some of these Native artists are hired or volunteer in the summer to demonstrate in the museum gallery such activities as Aleut and Eskimo basket weaving, silver carving, skin sewing, Athabaskan and Tlingit beading, and Chilkat weaving, or to share stories and legends from their cultures with thousands of visitors from every state and dozens of countries from around the world. Dave Galanin, a Tlingit artist, believes Jackson's collecting has given him opportunities to find inspiration for his work which otherwise might not have been available. There are some who feel the objects should not be behind glass but should continue to be used by individuals or clans. Galanin feels if that were so, it would be almost impossible for him to have access to those objects tucked away in private homes. The Sheldon Jackson Museum provides Galanin and others like him with the opportunity to do as its namesake intended: see up close "how their fathers lived."

Dave Galanin, Tlingit silver carver who uses the collection for inspiration in his work. Photo by Dan Evans

In 1988 the Coastal Yukon Mayors Association hosted a small exhibit entitled "Opening the Book." The exhibit consisted of artifacts Jackson collected from villages in the Bering Sea and Lower Yukon River area and then deposited in the museum in Sitka. Peter Corey, curator of the Sheldon Jackson Museum, accompanied the approximately one hundred-twenty artifacts to Mountain Village, Alaska, for the meeting of the Mayors Association where the artifacts were to be exhibited. Corey reported that Dr. Sheldon Jackson received a standing ovation for having preserved the artifacts of the Natives' ancestors. The exhibit brochure describes the Sheldon Jackson Museum as the storage place of these artifacts. They are owned by the people of Alaska. "But most of all these objects belong to you because it was your ancestors who gave them to Reverend Jackson."[7]

Sheldon Jackson was a noble and pragmatic collector of his era. He did his collecting by acceptable standards of the nineteenth century and in a relatively sensitive manner. By no means would his collecting measure up to good museum practices today. Yet Jackson's work still speaks for itself, in the voices of the cultures which would have been transformed, sooner of later, even without Jackson's intervention. The Yukon-Kuskokwim exhibit echoes this sentiment with a special

Jennifer Brady-Morales, Tlingit artist who feels the museum is an excellent place for school children to learn about the Native cultures of Alaska. Photo by Dan Evans

thank-you from the people of the region to "Sheldon Jackson, for collecting and saving the artifacts in the exhibit and keeping them in Alaska.'" Had Jackson not collected, much of the state's material culture would have been irretrievably lost or scattered throughout the world.

APPENDIX A

Exhibit Catalogs Containing Objects from the Sheldon Jackson Collection, Princeton Art Museum

Following is a list of exhibit catalogs or books, which include artifacts, collected by Sheldon Jackson that are a part of the former Princeton Museum of Natural History. Dr. Donald Baird, former Curator, provided the list.

Bloom, Susan. 1977. Masked Rituals. Queens Museum, 36 pp. Jackson #s 42*, 43, 44*, 45*, 54, 55.

Collins, H.B., F. de Laguna, E. Carpenter, P. Stone. 1973. The Far North: 200 Years of American Eskimo and Indian Art. Washington: National Gallery of Art, xxx + 289 pp. Jackson #s 212*, 292*, 339*.

Duff, Wilson, with Bill Holm and Bill Reid. 1967. Arts of the Raven. Vancouver: Vancouver Art Gallery, 112 pp. Unpaginated. Jackson #'s 9*, 40, 43*, 131*, 137, 188, 281*, 403*.

Feder, Norman. 1971. Two Hundred Years of North American Indian Art. New York: Praeger Publishers, 128 pp. Jackson #'s 68, 93, 104.

Fitzhugh, William W. and Aron Crowell. 1988. Crossroads of the Continents, Cultures of Siberia and Alaska. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 380 pp. Jackson #'s 192*, 250*, 230*, 355*, 186*.

Garrett, Patricia. 1980. The Guardians: The Native American Artists. Summit NJ: Summit Art Center, 32 pp. Jackson #'s 3,4,19, 33, 37, 51, 53, 54*, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82*, 102, 103, 104, 105*, 106*, 107, 115, 116, 148, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 174. Also included are several Jackson items not from Alaska.

Glubok, Shirley. 1975. The Art of the Northwest Coast Indians. New York: Macmillan, 48 pp. Haida woman's mask (PU 3924) figured on p.20. (This is a young adult level book.)

Gunther, Erna. 1962. Northwest Coast Indian Art. Seattle World's Fair, 101 pp. Princeton material on pp. 52-58; #'s 5, 13, 15, 17, 21, 22 are not Jackson's.

Lommel, Andreas. 1965. Die Welt der fruehen Jaeger: Medizinmaenner, Schmanen Kuenstler. Munchen: Verlag Georg D. W. Callwey, 196 pp. Edenshaw's dead shaman (PU 5160) figure on p. 108.

Marr, Helen H. 1986. Voices of the Ancestors: Music in the Life of the Northwest Coast Indians. Greenwich, CT: The Bruce Museum, 24 pp. Jackson pieces indexed on p. 21-23, none figured. PU 5099, 5096, 5088 are Jackson, not Libby Collection as listed.

Maurer, Evan M. 1977. The Native American Heritage. Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 351 pp. Jackson #'s 447*, 451*, 474*, 480*, 481*.

Nicholson, J.E. 1974. Images of New World Natives. Brunswick, MA: Bowdoin College of Art, 20 pp. Jackson #'s 34, 62, 98, 153, 158, 164, 189 (most figured.)

Wardell, Allen. 1964. Shapes of their Thoughts. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press/Yale Peabody Museum, 80 pp. Princeton items indexed on p.75, several figured.

*Figured, other objects are listed.

APPENDIX B

Memberships in Societies and Organizations

Sheldon Jackson is or has been a member of the following Societies and Organizations:

Adolphis Society, Union College, New York.

Advisory board of Westminister University of Colorado.

Advisory council on Religious Missions of the World's Congress Auxiliary, in connection the the Columbian Expostion of 1893.

Alaska Geographical Society, Seattle.

Alaskan Society of Natural History and Ethnology.

Alliance of the Reformed Churches throughout the World holding the Presbyterian System.

American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia.

American Bible Society.

American Folk-Lore Society.

American Institute of Christian Philosophy, New York.

American Sabbath Union.

American Shipping and Industrial League.

American Social Science Association, New York.

American Society of Religious Education, Washington.

American Systematic Beneficence Society.

Anthropological Society of Washington.

Auxiliary Bible Society.

Board of Foreign Missions.

Board of Trustees, Westminster College, Salt Lake City.

Council of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching.

The Cuban-American League, New York.

Indian Rights Association of the United States.

International Sunday School Union.

Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

National Association for Study of Epilepsy.

National Committee on Queen Victoria Memorial, New York.

National Education Association of the United States.

National Geographic Society.

National Committee to the Dead Heroes of the Cuban and Manila Battlefields and the Martyrs of the Maine.

National Statistical Association, Washington.

Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia.

Regent of American Post-Graduate School of Political Science, 1894, New York.

Society of American Authors, New York.

Society of National Charities and Correction.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Travellers' Club of Washington.

Trinity Historical Society, Dallas, Texas.

Union College Alumni Association, New York City.

Union College Alumni Association of Washington, D.C.

United States Christian Commission.

Vermont State Teachers' Association.

Transcribed copy from *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 18, p. 278, undated. (Probably from the late 1890s.)

Appendix C

Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology Constitutions

Following are transcribed copies of the constitutions for the original scientific organization founded by Jackson in August of 1887 and the constitution for what was to become the " Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology." A photograph of the third and final constitution is included in this book on page 33.*

First Constitution

I.

The Name of this Society is the "Alaskan Society of Sitka."

II.

The purpose is to collect and preserve information in regard to the arts, history, language, religion and folklore of the native population of Alaska, and also in regard to the structure, climate, mineral resources, flora and fauna of the country, and in brief, to observe, collect, record and publish facts in regard to the entire territory, continental and insular.

III.

The members of the association are the undersigned founders, and such others as may from time to time be elected to membership in the classes below named — (ladies as well as gentlemen being eligible).

A. Resident member, to be chosen from the residents of Sitka, who by their tastes, studies or pursuits are qualified to promote the objects of this association.

B. Corresponding members, to be chosen among those who have been in Alaska, as residents or visitor, and of Officers of the Military, Naval and Civil services of the United States who have been stationed in Alaska, it being understood that they are interested in the work of the Society and are willing to make an entrance contribution of $5.00 or more towards its support.

C. Honorary members, to be chosen from those who have in any way distinguished themselves in promoting the study of Alaskan geography, natural history, ethnography or other branches of sciences.

IV.

The Directors shall consist of a President, vice President and a Secretary who shall also be Treasurer, and of two additional directors all of whom shall be chosen by the resident members to hold office for a year and until their successors are chosen.

V.

An annual report shall be made and printed by the Directors and sent to all the members. Scientific papers may be published from time to time in the name of the Society after they have received the approval of a committee of expert persons to be designated by the Directors.

VI.

The constitution may be amended at the annual meeting by the assent of a majority of the resident members. By-laws shall be adopted from time to time to provide for the carrying out of the principles of this constitution.

Sitka, Alaska,
August 1st, 1887

C.B. Faucet, Chicago, Illinois
Sheldon Jackson, Sitka, Alaska
A.P. Swineford, Sitka, Alaska
Maurice E. Kenealy, Sitka, Alaska
A.K. De Lauex (?)
John J. McLean
Alonzo E. Austin
William Sharofen
William A. Kelly
D.C. Gilman, President,
Johns Hopkins Univ., Baltimore, Md.
Nicholas Murray Butler, President,
J.E.A. Training College, New York
Edwin Hale Abbot,
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Louis Dyer,
Cambridge, Massachusetts
John Pine, New York
Thomas Hill, Artist,
San Francisco, California
Elliot F. Shepard, New York
(?)E. Young, Northwestern
University, Evanston, Illinois
Thos. M. Strong, Portland, Oregon
Fred J. Slade, Trenton, N.J.
R.M. Baker
Mary Overing Newell
Gertrude Brett Harding
Anna R. Kelsey
R.A. (?)
Virginia M (Mc?)
Ida M. Rogers
John G. Brady per S.J.
Susan S. (W?) inans

A Collection of the Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson Concerning Alaska, 1879-1908. (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton: Princeton University Theological Seminary, hereafter paper PUTS, 1990, microfilm copy), Misc. Paper, File D.

Second Constitution

Constitution

1. The name of this society is the "Museum of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology."
2. The purpose is to collect and preserve in connection with the Sitka Industrial and Training School, specimens illustrative of the natural history and ethnology of Alaska and publications relating thereto.
3. The membership of the society shall consist of the undersigned founders, the officers and teachers of the Sitka Industrial Training School, and such others as may from time to time be elected to membership. Non-residents of Alaska interested in the work of the society and willing to contribute to its funds, may be elected corresponding members. Parties who have rendered distinguished service to Alaska may be elected honorary members.
4. The affairs of the society shall be administered by an executive committee of five, three of whom shall be officers or teachers in the Sitka Industrial and Training School. The superintendent of the Industrial Training School shall be ex-officio member of the executive committee. The elected members of the committee shall serve for two years or until their successors are chosen.
5. The officers of the society shall consist of a President and Secretary. The Secretary shall be ex-officio treasurer.
6. The Constitution may be amended at any annual meeting by a majority of those present, provided the proposed amendment does not remove the Society and its property out of the control of the Sitka Industrial and Training School. By-laws shall be adopted from time to time by the executive committed for the carrying out of the purposes of the Society.

Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology, 24 October, 1887, Minutes (Sitka, AK.: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter Minutes, SJM Archives), transcribed copy.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

APPENDIX D

World Expositions and Sheldon Jackson

This list gives "world's expositions" in which Sheldon Jackson and/or his collections were involved.

1883-84 – *Worlds Industrial and Cotton Exposition*, New Orleans, Louisiana.

1886 – Jackson was asked to supply "produce" from his school at the *American Exhibition in London*. No information has been found to confirm if he participated.

1888 – Asked to take part in *Buffalo International Fair Association*. No information as to Jackson's participation.

1893-94 – *World's Columbian Exposition*, Chicago, Illinois.

1896 – Appointed Commissioner to represent the territory of Alaska at the *International Exposition in Mexico City*. No information is available as to Jackson's participation—probably an honorary title.

The Tennessee Centennial Celebration requested the loan of Jackson's Museum in Alaska. No record of participation by Jackson or the objects he collected.

1898 – *Trans-Mississippi Exposition*, Omaha, Nebraska.

1899 – Jackson offered his assistance to Arthur Jackson, head of the Alaska Geographical Society, in preparation for the *Paris Exposition*. No further information as to Jackson participation. *See: Jackson to A.C. Jackson, 7 January, 1899, Papers, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 13.*

1901 – *Pan-American Exposition*, Buffalo, New York.

1901 – Asked to furnish an Eskimo family and items from their daily life for the *Charleston Exposition* in Charleston, South Carolina. Jackson did not accept the offer to participate.

1904 – *Louisiana Purchase Exposition*, St. Louis, Missouri. John Brady asked Jackson, to assist in the arrangement of the Alaska exhibit but he had already sold the "Omaha Collection" to the Bureau of Education that exhibited some of the pieces. Jackson did loan some objects from his personal collection and exhibited school work from Alaskan students.

1905 – Brady requested Jackson's personal collection that had been in St. Louis, for use at the *Lewis and Clark Exposition* in Portland, Oregon. Jackson declined the invitation to exhibit and asked that his pieces be returned to his home in Washington, D.C.

1909 – *Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition*, Seattle, Washington. Further research needs to be conducted to determine which expositions the "Omaha Collection" was used in by the Bureau of Education during the years before it became part of the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History. This exposition would have been its last stop before the transfer.

All Known Repositories of Objects Collected by Sheldon Jackson

Name of Institution	Number of Artifacts
Brown University, Gardner House Providence, Rhode Island	7
Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois	279*
Montgomery County Historical Society, Fort Johnson, New York	currently 11, 63 others were sold to the Sheldon Jackson Museum in 1988.
Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	2 pieces donated to the Sheldon Jackson Museum in 1992.
Princeton University, The Art Museum, Princeton, New Jersey	350*, 3 pieces on loan to the Sheldon Jackson Museum since 1992.
P.T. Barnum Museum, Bridgeport, Connecticut	20-30*
Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska	4800*
Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of Natural History, Washington, D.C.	1630*
University of Michigan, Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor, Michigan	1 positive documentation, 129 possible others, undocumented.
Mrs. Schuyler Voorhees (deceased)	Collection was given to a niece in Texas. 4 pieces of argillite were in Mrs. Voorhee's collection in 1984. The complete amount of objects is unknown.
Westminster College, Salt Lake City, Utah	An unknown number of artifacts thought to have been collected in the late 1890s by Jackson were reported to be in the anthropology building in 1998.

* Approximate number of pieces.

Chapter 1

1. Theodore Hinckley, *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1961), 177.
2. Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 48.
3. William W. Fitzhugh and Aron Crowell, *Crossroads of Continents: Cultures of Siberia and Alaska* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Insutution Press, 1988), 14.
4. Robert Laird Stewart, D.D., *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 450.

Chapter 2

1. Robert Laird Stewart, D.D., *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 17, 20.
2. Ibid., 20.
3. Theodore C. Hinckley, *The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1961), 177.
4. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 27.
5. Jackson to Samuel and Delia Jackson, 20 July 1857, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
6. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 32.
7. Jackson to Board of Foreign Missions, 7, December 1857, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
8. Jackson to Louise Jackson, 29 May 1858, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
9. Ibid.
10. Jackson to Samuel, Delia and Louise Jackson, 10 November 1858, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
11. Jackson to Samuel, Delia and Louise Jackson, 22 December 1858, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
12. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 49.
13. Jackson to Samuel and Delia Jackson, 25 January, 10 March 1859, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
14. J. Arthur Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1960), 26.
15. Winifred Hulbert, *The Bishop of All Beyond* (New York: Friendship Press, 1972; reprint Sitka, Alaska.: Sheldon Jackson Press, 1972), 2. (Page reference is to reprint edition.)
16. Mary Jackson to Samuel and Delia Jackson, 29 May 1863, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.
17. U.S. Christian Commission to Jackson, 4 August 1863, Ibid.
18. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*,100-101.

Chapter 3

1. Robert Laird Stewart, D.D., *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 122.
2. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson, 203.*
3. Jackson to "Readers" of *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, 8 April 1876, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 2, Vol. 7.
4. Ibid.
5. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 154. Theodore C. Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1961), 7.
6. Robert Davis to Jackson, November 1878, PHS, Rl. 2 Vol. 9; and Davis to Jackson, December 1879, PHS, Rl. 2 Vol. 9. Jackson's lack of documentation continues to frustrate the caretakers of his collections. The collections at the Sheldon Jackson Museum, for example, have little, ifany, specific information on the objects.
7. Jackson to "Readers" in *The Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, 8 April 1876; *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 7; Jackson to Sabbath School children, undated 1873, ibid., Rl. 1, Vol. 6.
8. Arnold Guyot to Jackson, 27 November 1876, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8.
9. George M. Darl.ey to Jackson, 25 June 1877, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8; Thomas V. Keam to Jackson, 9 July 1877, ibid.; William Keam to Jackson, 4 and 15 August 1877, ibid.
10. W. H. Jackson to Jackson, 27 August 1877, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8.
11. Mrs. Henry Kendall to Jackson, undated 1878, *SJ*

Correspondence, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8.; and Mrs. Henry Kendall to Jackson 20 March 1880, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 10.

12. William Meyers to Jackson, July 1879, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 10.
13. Miss F. L. Spencer to Jackson, 8 February, 1879, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 10.
14. William H. Roberts to Jackson, 14 May 1879, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 9.
15. Jackson to Samuel and Delia Jackson, 20 July 1857, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 1, Vol. 2.

Chapter 4

1. Ted C. Hinckley, *The Americanization of Alaska 1867-1897* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, Publishers, 1972), 115.
2. Clifford Merrill Drury, *Presbyterian Panoramas; One Hundred and Fifty Years of National Missions History* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1952), 199.
3. Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1880), 138.
4. Jackson, *Alaska Missions*, 138.
5. Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 304.
6. Ibid., 305.
7. William H. Robert to Jackson, 14 May 1879; A. Gossmon to Jackson, 30 April 1879; William H. Roberts to Jackson, 27 March 1879, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 2, Vol.9. Jackson sent his first Zuni pot to the Princeton Theological Seminary in March of 1879 followed in April and May by the Boards' thanks and more Southwest Plains material. He did not visit Alaska until later in the summer.
8. Amanda McFarland to Jackson, March 1878, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8. The musical instruments, unnamed by McFarland, may have been drums or raven rattles; PU-J (no.5248) shaman drum with killer whale and 2 moons on outside and moon on inside; raven rattle PU-J (no. 5165). *See also* Donald Baird, *Art of the Northwest Coast* (Princeton: The Art Museum, 1969), 43, 44.
9. McFarland to Jackson, March 1878, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8.
10. Jackson to Alfred Docking, 17 March 1892, *A Collection of Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson Concerning Alaska 1879-1908* (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton University Theological Seminary, hereafter *Papers PUTS*, 1990, microfilm), Shelf Vol. 8. The following is taken from that letter: "When they (boxes of curios) come you had better leave them to be opened when I can be with you, as the things are not labeled, and if they should be mixed up it would be impossible to label them. The boxes and packages are numbered and I have a list of the places where they were obtained corresponding with those numbers, so that by the number on the box I can tell what is inside." Jackson's record keeping in those first years in Alaska had not yet reached even this basic state. Alaskan artifacts received at Princeton in 1882 did not even have Jackson's characteristic signature on each piece. A list with minimal information accompanied the objects: some had a Native word corresponding to an object but no explanation as to what it meant. In some cases, the location was indicated but included no year or description of use. Donald Baird, correspondence with the author, 1 January 1989.
11. Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 92-96.
12. Brady to Jackson, July 1878, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2, Vol. 8.
13. John Muir, *Travels in Alaska*, new edition with an Introduction by Edwin Way Teale (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915), 12-20.
14. Ibid., 70.
15. Ibid., 74.
16. Ibid., 75.
17. Muir, Ibid. It is interesting to note that in the four accounts of this 1879 trip — Jackson, *Alaska Missions*, 229-256; S. Hall Young, *Hall Young of Alaska, The Mushing parson: Autobiography of S. Hall Young*, Introduction by John A. Marquis (New York: Fleming Revel Company, 1928), 172-175; Lindsley, *Sketches*, see p. 81 for full citation, 1-18; Muir, *Travels*, 56-75. Muir is the only one to give a detailed description of this side trip and totem pole incident at Stickeen. Jackson mentioned going by what might be Stickeen village on his way to Port Simpson, but in *Alaska Missions*, he does not refer to the archaeological excursion. Young may not have accompanied the group on this particular trip as he had been injured on the previous outing while mountain climbing with John Muir. (see S. Hall Young, *Alaska Days with John Muir*, New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1915); Lindsley, *Sketches*, 13. Lindsley gave several paragraphs to the visit and used the opportunity to take a shot at Jackson's actions (without mentioning Jackson by name) in removing the totem pole. "To injure one [totem pole] was to insult the family to which it

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

belonged, to cut one down was an unpardonable offense."

18. Note the contrast with Jackson's collecting 3 years earlier. Jackson to "Readers" of the *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian*, 8 April 1876, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 2 ,Vol. 7.
19. Cole, *Captured Heritage*, 175.
20. Jackson, *Alaska Missions*, 106-107.
21. Peter Corey, Curator of Collections, Sheldon Jackson Museum, conversation with the author following his visit to Princeton Museum of Natural History, January 1991.
22. Untitled article, *Sheldon Jackson 1834-1909, Scrapbook Collection in the Presbyterian Historical Society*, Vol. 1-65 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Scrapbooks*, PHS, 1984, Rl. 2, 107.
23. Accounts of these gatherings can be found in Jackson, *Alaska Missions*, 104-114; Muir, *Travels*, 33-36; S. Hall Young, *Hall Young of Alaska, The Mushing Parson: Autobiography of S. Hall Young*, 172-175; Reverend A. L. Lindsley, *Sketches of an Excursion to Southern Alaska*. (Portland: Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church 1879), 4. Jackson attributes this quote to Chief Shaaks of Wrangell at his closing entertainment for the missionaries.
24. C.T. Tate to Jackson, 9 June 1880, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 10.
25. Alice Fletcher to Jackson 27 December 1883, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 13; 20 March 1884, ibid.

Chapter 5

1. Clarence Andrews, *The Story of Alaska* (Caldwell, Idaho: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1938), 151-158. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, *Alaska: A History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During the First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), 35-57. Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, 1954), 34-43. Clause Naske and Herman E. Slotnick, *Alaska, A History of the 49th State* (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987; Second Edition), 66.
2. United States Senate, Statement of Reverend Sheldon Jackson Before a Subcommittee on Territories, Report #457 47th Congress, 1st Sess. Feb. 3 (Washington D.C.: 1880). Even though Jackson had only been to Alaska on two relatively short trips, he had already started considering himself an Alaskan.
3. Ted C. Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson 1877-1890," Ph.D. diss. (Indiana University, 1961), 104.
4. Hinckley, "Alaska Labors," 73; Dr. Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1880), 124-140; Education Bill introduced by Sheldon Jackson, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 2, Vol. 10: 46.
5. Sheldon Jackson, *Alaska Missions*, on the North Pacific Coast (Dodd, Mead, & Co. 1880), 1-327.
6. Clipping from the "Daily Democrat," Amsterdam, NY, December 1883, *Sheldon Jackson 1834-1909, Scrapbook Collection in the Presbyterian Historical Society*, hereafter *SJ Scrapbooks* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1984), Vol. 48, 75.
7. Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 333, 336. Jackson officially continued working in Denver and the Rocky Mountain Region until 1882. In December of 1881 the Board of Home Missions accepted his offer to turn the widely-read *Rocky Mountain Presbyterian* over to them so Jackson could devote more time to Alaskan projects. At headquarters in New York, the publication expanded its scope and became known as the *Presbyterian Home Mission*. In order to continue the quality of the paper and give Jackson the opportunity to further his work for Alaska, the Board asked him to come to New York, run the paper, and increase his lobbying efforts for Federal support for Alaska programs.
8. Hinckley, "Alaska Labors," 73.
9. Ibid., 119.
10. Ibid., 82. Correspondence from numerous travelers 1884, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 13.
11. Jackson to L.G. Shepard, 3 April 1884, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 13.
12. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 345. Andrews, *Story of Alaska*, 174.
13. William H. Roberts to Jackson, 14, 25 March 1881, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS Rl. 3, Vol. 11.
14. A. Guyot to Jackson, 24 May 1881, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 11.
15. W. Henry Green to Jackson, 13 May 1881, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 11; Esther Billman to Dr. John A. MacKay, 12 March 1973, "Sheldon Jackson Collection at Princeton University" (Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives: Sitka, Alaska, hereafter, Princeton University, SJM Archives) file folder.
16. Caleb S. Green to Jackson, 16 June 1881, ibid.

17. Ibid.
18. John J. McLean to Spencer Baird, 27 July 1881, Smithsonian Archives, Record Unit 305 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Archives 1881), photocopy.
19. Ibid. Amanda McFarland, Alonzo Austin, S. Hall Young, John Brady (even after he gave up the missionary calling) and Eugene Willard had all contributed to the growth of the cabinet, as well as C. Stuart Ross in New Zealand.
20. Spencer W. Baird to Jackson, 31 October 1881, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 11.
21. G. Brown Goode to Jackson 23 November 1894, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17. *United States Bureau of Education, Education in Alaska 1896-1897* by Reverend Dr. Sheldon Jackson, General Agent of Education: Reprint of Chapter XXXV of the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1896-1897* (Washington, D.C., GPO 1898), 1695.
22. Donald Baird, former curator of the Princeton Museum of Natural History, correspondence with the author, 1 January 1989.
23. Alonzo Austin to Jackson, 24 March 1881, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 11; Austin to Jackson, 19 November 1883, ibid., Rl. 3, Vol. 13; John G. Brady to Jackson, 16 April 1882, ibid., Rl. 3, Vol. 12; Brady to Jackson, 16 June 1883, ibid., Rl. 3, Vol. 13. Many other samples of similar requests are found in the *SJ Correspondence*, PHS.
24. Clara Gould, "Letter to Dr. Jackson," 19 October 1889, *The Alaskan, A Sitka Newspaper* (Sitka, Alaska 1885-1907), 1. Reprint of a letter received by Dr. Jackson from Miss Gould, 27 August 1889. Pat Roppel, "Bertie Adapted to the Wilderness," March, April 1989, *Southeastern Log*, (Ketchikan, Alaska., 1989), Vol. 19, No. 3: 4-6, Vol. 19, No.4: 4-6. Roppel's article is concerned mostly with the Gould's niece who came to live with them but makes reference to the three fires the Gould's lived through. After each fire, they rebuilt and continued to live in Howkan until 1910. The photograph is dated to post-1895 because of taxidermy pieces attributed to Gould's niece who did not arrive in Howkan until 1895.
25. J. Loomis Gould to Jackson 18 September 1887, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 14; Gould to Jackson 26 September 1888; ibid., Rl. 4 Vol. 15; Gould to Jackson, 3 June 1889, ibid.
26. John J. McLean to Spencer Baird, 27 July 1881, Smithsonian Archive, Record Unit 305, photocopy.
27. Sarah Dickinson to Jackson, 5 May 1882, *SJ Correspondence*, Rl. 3 Vol. 12; Carrie Willard to Jackson, 10 July 1883, ibid., Rl. 3, Vol. 13. Unfortunately there is not enough description of this object to distinguish it from other shamanistic pieces shown in available lists of Sheldon Jackson collections at Princeton.
28. The following institutions have been contacted and have confirmed that some pieces in their collections have Jackson's name affixed to them: Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Field Museum, Chicago, Illinois; Museum of Anthropology, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Museum of Natural History, Princeton, New Jersey; Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Sheldon Jackson Museum, Sitka, Alaska; Brown University, Providence, Road Island, had pieces purchased from the Sheldon Jackson Museum Shop in 1895 with an identifying tag; these items were probably collected by Jackson.
29. John J. McLean to Spencer Baird, 27 July 1881, Smithsonian Archives, Record Unit 305, photocopy.
30. John G. Brady to Jackson, 16 April 1882, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 12; Caleb S. Green to Jackson, 10 August 1882, ibid.
31. John G. Brady to Jackson, 20 April, 16 June 1883, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3, Vol. 13; Brady to Jackson, 17 April 1884, ibid.
32. Cole, *Captured Heritage*, see full citation # 11 p. 80, 76. The letter cited is from correspondence to Brady found in the Yale Collection of Western Americana, The Beinecke rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. J. Arthur Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle: The Life of Sheldon Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers), 67.
33. Donald Baird correspondence with the author, 1 February 1989. These pieces are now considered important in their own right, even if not pristine examples of Northwest culture. They represent a transitional time for the Tlingit people, expressing one way Native people began to be assimilated into a capitalistic economy. Anthropologist Erna Gunther pointed this out to Donald Baird, former Princeton Curator, in a conversation in 1961.
34. "Cordwood" is a term used by Donald Baird to Dr. Gunther in their 1961 conversation. For examples of some of those important pieces which are included in exhibit catalogs, see Appendix A. John G. Brady to Jackson, 20 April 16, June 19 November 1883, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 3 Vol. 13. Besides Princeton, Brady also gave aid to some of Jackson's other collecting needs: objects to sell at church bazaars by mission groups, "premiums" or thank you gifts to supporters and donors, and even for Jackson's personal collection.

Chapter 6

1. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, *Alaska: A History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During the First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), 103-104. Robert Laird Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson:*

Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1907), 337.

2. Sheldon Jackson to President Grover Cleveland, 3 April 1885, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 4, Vol. 14; Jackson to William M. Cleveland, assistant to the President, 5 May 1885, ibid.
3. For a view of Sheldon Jackson from the Orthodox perspective, see: Father Michael Oleksa, ed., *Alaskan Missionary Spirituality* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), see Jackson in index.
4. A.L. Palmer to E.B. Cobb, August 1885, ibid.. Palmer witnessed Jackson's arrest and made some interesting comments: "[J]ackson is] smart and bright enough to know all these men and their ways and is a bulldog enough to pitch into them without gloves, calling them thieves, robber, etc....And the Doctor can do something besides talk and that is what makes them all desperate."
5. J. Arthur Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle: The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brother, Publishers, 1960), 1-24. It should be noted that according to Lazell, Jackson's fence probably did block a public road but was soon adjusted for public access. Articles on the arrest of Jackson, 3 and 26 March 1886, *The Alaskan, A Sitka Newspaper* (Sitka, Alaska 1885-1907), 2; Sheldon Jackson, "Difficulties at Sitka in 1885," *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 14. A.L. Palmer to E.B. Cobb, August 1885, ibid.; Nichols, *Alaska*, 103-104.
6. Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle*, 110.
7. Allan Marguand to Jackson, March 1886, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4 Vol. 14. Marguand had received a request from the Kensington Museum in London for information on a "leather jerkin with old Chinese coins" which Jackson had collected. Evidently, Jackson never responded, probably because either he did not collect it himself and knew nothing about it or did not record any information when he purchased it.
8. Donald Baird, "Tlingit Treasures." Princeton Alumni Weekly, Vol. LXV, No. 17 (February 16, 1965): 6-17; William Libbey to Jackson, 3, 13 April 1886, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 14.
9. Mrs. J.C. Kinney to Jackson, August, 6 November 1885, ibid.
10. Jackson to Francis P. Gifford, 19 November 1885, *A Collection of the Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson concerning Alaska 1879-1908* (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton: Princeton University Theological Seminary, herafter Papers PUTS, 1990, microfilm) Shelf Vol. 3; Jackson to Mrs. Abell, 20 November 1885, ibid.
11. George M. Dawson, to Jackson, 8 March 1888, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15; John Brady to Jackson, March 1886, Ibid., Rl. 4 Vol. 14; Spencer Baird to Jackson, 14 July 1886, ibid.; Sheldon Jackson D.D., *Alaska and Its Missions on the North Pacific Coast* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Company 1880), see unpaged acknowledgments.
12. List of professional organizations belonged to by Sheldon Jackson, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 18, 278. Jackson, in the late 1890s belonged to over 40 societies and organizations. These ranged from the Alaska Geographical Society to the Anthropology Society of Washington and Indian Rights Association of America. See Appendix "B" for a complete listing of organizations to which Jackson belonged.
13. Ted C. Hinckley, Ph.D., "Alaska's Tlingit and the Euro-American Frontier 1800-1912" (Unpublished manuscript for the Alaska Historical Commission, 1989) Chapter 4,8. Ted C. Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson 1877-1890," Ph. D. diss. (Indiana University, 1961), 145.
14. Hinckley, "Alaska's Tlingit," Chapter 8, page 14. Ted. C. Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors," 82.
15. "Expenses for Education of Children in Alaska, 10 May 1886, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 4. This listed expenses for, 21 January 1886: "carving tools for U.S. School, Sitka - $1.85; Douglas Cole, *Captured Heritage: The Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1985), 76; Hinckley, "Alaska's Tlingit," Chapter 4, 8.
16. "New Museum Building," 14 December 1889, *The Alaskan, A Sitka Newspaper* (Sitka, Alaska 1885-1907), 2; New Museum Building," January 1890, *The North Star. The Complete Issues from December 1887 to December 1892* (Sitka, Alaska) facsimile reproduction (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1973), 99. Both newspapers have an article about the opening of the new museum building but *The North Star* goes on to give a brief history of the origins of the "Society of Natural History and Ethnology. *The North Star* often "borrowed" articles in part or whole from *The Alaskan:* these articles are examples of that practice.
17. Constitution for the "Alaska Society of Sitka," 1 August 1887," *Papers*, PUTS, Misc. Papers, File D; J. Loomis Gould to Jackson 18 September 1887, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4 Vol. 14. Gould referred to the organization as the "Alaska Academy of Sciences and Museum of Ethnology," but the constitution in Jackson's handwriting was given the name the

"Alaskan Society of Sitka." Either Jackson had written to Gould about the Society and for some reason used this name or Gould simply embellished the title.

18. Craig Mishler, "The Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology: "A Sitka Scientific Project 1887-1911" (Anchorage, Alaska: A paper presented to the Alaska Anthropology Association Annual Meeting, 1987), 3; 1 August 1887, *Papers*, misc. papers, File D. See appendix "C" for complete copies of this constitution and for that of the "Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology."
19. Jackson to Edwin Hale Abbott, 19 October 1887, "Background Material Transferred from Stratton Library 7/30/85 (originals)" Early Information on Founding of Society and History of Concrete Building" (Sitka, Alaska.: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives hereafter "Early Informatuon," SJM Archives) file folder.
20. "Museum of Natural History and Ethnology," 22 October 1887, *The Alaskan*, 3.
21. Jackson to Edwin Hale Abbott, 19 October 1887, "Early Information," SJM Archives, file folder.
22. In 1984 after much soul-searching and debate among the staff and board of trustees of the Sheldon Jackson College, the museum, its collections and its surrounding lands were sold to the State of Alaska. The financial burden of the museum induced the trustees to sell the museum and collections so it could be better cared for and to prevent the breaking up of this unique collection.
23. Jackson to Edwin Hale Abbott, 19 October 1887, "Early Information," SJM Archives, file folder; Edwin Hale Abbott to Jackson, March 1889, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4 Vol. 15.
24. Organizational meeting for the Alaska Society of Sitka, 29 October 1887, *The Alaskan*, 4. Both these men supported the society through their knowledge of Alaska and by supplying a wide variety of publications and advice.
25. "Collections Records," (Sitka, ALASKA.: SJM Archives), see Sheldon Jackson in "source cards."
26. Copy of bill for stone carvings, 6 July 1887, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS Rl. 4 Vol. 14; Robert Tomlinson to Jackson 18 July 1887, ibid.; Jackson to William Duncan 18 October 1887, ibid.; 24 October 1887, minutes, SJM Archives.
27. 14 April 1888, *The Alaskan*, 2.
28. 9 April, 11 June 1888, minutes, SJM Archives. Not until 12 November 1888 does the secretary refer to the new organization as the "Society of Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology." However, in announcements published, 16 September 1893 in *The Alaskan*, and Jackson to Cassia Patton, 5 October 1893, Misc. Corr., SJM Archives, and in numerous other references the organization is called the "Alaskan Society of Natural History and Ethnology." The author found the organization to be called by as many names as the words could be combined. The founders, members, and outsiders all managed unintentionally to scramble the title in a variety of creative ways. The "Society," or the "Alaska Society," will be the shortened form used in this book in reference to the organization. Sheldon Jackson Museum (SJM), Sitka Museum or the Museum will refer to the building and collections of the "Society."
29. 9 April 1888, minutes, SJM Archives. See appendix "E" for a list of objects available for sale from the Society between 1890 and 1900. 11 March 1888, minutes, SJM Archives.
30. Steward, *Sheldon Jackson*, 288. June 1888, *The North Star*, 28; 12 May 1888, *The Alaskan*, 2; John Dunn and Arnold Booth, "Tsimshians of Metlakatla, Alaska," in Handbook of North American Indians: Northwest Coast, Vol. 7, gen. ed. William C. Sturtevant, vol. ed. Wayne Suttles (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1990), 294-298. This is an excellent short essay on the Metlakatlans and how they came to the United States.
31. Abby Johnson Woodman, *Picturesque Alaska: A Journal of a Tour Among the Mountains, Seas, and Islands of the Northwest from San Francisco to Sitka* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), 114. William Watson Wollen, *The Inside Passage to Alaska: 1792-1920* (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1924), 255-256; Steve Brown "From Taquan to Klukwan, Tracing the Work of an Early Tlingit Master Artist" in *Faces, Voices and Dreams* (Juneau, Alaska: Division of Alaska State Museums and the Friends of the Alaska State Museum, 1987), 157-173. Carver/researcher, Steve Brown attributes one of these poles to a master carver of the late 1700s. After careful examination of the Sheldon Jackson pole and comparison to several others found in Southeast Alaska, Brown has determined a single carver to have done the work. Although the artist remains unknown, it is now possible to identify his work through certain stylistic techniques. Had the poles not been removed by Jackson, the valuable information on the early carved poles would have been lost. The poles are still on exhibit at the Sheldon Jackson Museum.
32. 12 May 1888, *The Alaskan*, Jackson to Captain W.F. Kilgore, 9 February 1900, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 14; Kilgore to Jackson, 2 February 1900, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 19, Jackson to J. Loomis Gould, 13 July 1903, *Papers*, PUTS. Shelf

87

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Vol. 19; Jackson to Thomas Skulkaah, 13 July 1903, ibid.

33. William Duncan to Jackson, 5 November, 8 and 24 December 1888, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15; James V. Brown to Jackson, 21 December 1888, ibid.
34. April through December 1888, minutes, SJM Archives.
35. The "Westward" refers to Kodiak, the Aleutians and Pribiloff Islands. 17 November 1889, minutes, SJM Archives. Kilbuck's wife wrote Jackson saying they were sending a stone lamp to the Society but there is no record of the arrival of that particular artifact in Sitka. 11 February, 11 April 1889, minutes, SJM Archives.
36. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 332, 418-420. See numerous correspondence between Jackson and Native leaders in both *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, and *Papers*, PUTS. Edward Marsden, Louis and Tillie Paul and Sarah Dickinson are a few examples of Native teachers. Jackson is often criticized for discouraging the use of the Native languages in his schools, but his efforts to install role models in those positions tends to be overlooked. 11 April 1889, minutes, SJM Archives. Edward Marsden related a creation story to the society and painted the totemic designs on the walls of the new building; on 10 February 1891, Mrs. Paul and Tobert Harris talked on Native dances. The people mentioned all had teaching assignments in schools and acted as role models for Tlingit students.
37. 12 December 1889, minutes, SJM Archives; 14 December 1889, *The Alaskan;* January 1890, *The North Star*, 101.
38. 18 May 1889, *The Alaskan*, 3.
39. Edwin Hale Abbott to Jackson, March 1889, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15.
40. December, *The Alaskan* 1889, 2; January 1890, *The North Star*, 101; 12 December 1889, minutes, SJM Archives. It is interesting to note that in the minutes, there is only mention of Jackson's donation of objects to the society and no mention of the building itself. Again, it seems *The Alaskan* offered more complete information than the secretary of the society saw fit to include in the minutes. Later references in *The North Star*, January and June 1890, confirm Jackson did donate the museum building.

Chapter 7

1. George S. Blatchelly to Commanding Officers of US Revenue Marine Cutters, 17 April 1890, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 4, Vol. 15.
2. Sheldon Jackson, "The Arctic Cruise of the United States Revenue Cutter Bear," *The National Geographic Magazine*, January 1896, 27-31. "Whalebone" is now commonly called baleen. These are the long fibrous "fronds" found in the mouths of toothless whale species such as Humpback and Gray whales. Robert Laird Stewart, D.D., *Sheldon Jackson: Pathfinder and Prospector of the Missionary Vanguard in the Rocky Mountains and Alaska* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908), 376.
3. Alice Postell, *Where Did the Reindeer Come From? Alaska Experience, the First Fifty Years* (Portland: Amaknak Press, 1990), 13; Jackson, "The Arctic Cruise," 27-31; Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 376.
4. Mary and Albert Cocke, "Hell Roaring Mike: A Fall from Grace in the Frozen North," *Smithsonian*, February 1983, 119-126; Postell, Reindeer, 13.
5. Jackson, "The Arctic Cruise," 27-31; Captain Michael Healy to Sheldon Jackson, 5 December 1901, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 20. Healy's empathy for the Natives may well have grown from his own experiences as a member of a minority struggling to succeed in a dominantly white culture. His mother, a mulatto slave, had lived as his father's wife on a Georgia plantation but the couple had never married. Healy's father, realizing his children would be sold as slaves when he died, gradually sent each of his ten children north to be educated in the best Quaker and Catholic schools. It paid off: this remarkable family porduced a President of Georgetown University, a bishop, a doctor of canon law, three nuns, one of which became a Mother Superior, and Captain Healy. For a short biography on Healy see: "Hell-roaring Mike: A Fall from Grace in the Frozen North," Smithsonian, February, 1983.
6. Captain Michael Healy to Captain Shepard, 29 April 1890, "Alaska File of the Revenue Cutter Service 1867-1914, Letters received, 11 August 1869 – 29 September 1910" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1966, Microcopy No. 641; Alaska State Library, hereafter, ASL, Juneau, Alaska). Microfilm AR2 Rl. 1; Healy to Shepard, 29 May 1890, ibid.
7. Healy to W. Windom, 5 July 1890, ibid.
8. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 386; Jackson to Harris, 15 December 1890, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15; Healy to Secretary of Treasury, September 1890, "Alaska File" ASL AR 2, Rl. 1.
9. J. Arthur Lazell, Alaskan Apostle: *The Life Story of Sheldon Jackson* (New York: Harper & Brothers,

Publishers, 1960), 86-87; Ted Hinckley, "The Alaska Labors of Sheldon Jackson 1877-1890," Ph.D. diss. (Indiana University, 1961), 249; Sheldon Jackson, "Cruise of United States Revenue Steamer Bear in Behring Sea and Arctic Ocean 1890," *The Evangelist*, weekly series, 5 March - 30 April 1891, in *Sheldon Jackson Travel Diaries* (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter SJ Diaries, PHS, 1977 microfilm), Rl. 1, Vol. 10.

10. C. L. Hooper to Secretary of Treasury, June 1880, "Alaska File," ASL AR2, Rl. 1.
11. Postell, Reindeer, 11.
12. Ibid., 1-105; Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 386-414; Lazell, *Alaskan Apostle*, 82-174; Ernest Gruening, *The State of Alaska* (New York: Random House, 1954), 94-96; Jeannette Paddock Nichols, *Alaska: A History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During the First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), 109; Sheldon Jackson, "Preliminary Report," *Report of Commissioner of Education on Introduction of Domestic Reindeer into Alaska 13 Vol.* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Education 1891-1908).
13. William Fitzhugh, introduction to *The Eskimo about Bering Strait* by Edward W. Nelson (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology 1899; reprinted from the *Eighteenth Annual* Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology 1896-1897; repr., Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983), 30-33. When Edward Nelson collected among the Yupik of Southwestern Alaska, they often referred to him as the "man who buys good for nothing things," things that could be replaced by longer lasting, more easily obtainable trade goods.
14. Jackson to Mrs. Margaret Shepard, 29 April 1893, *A Collection of Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson Concerning Alaska 1879-1908* (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton University Theological Seminary, hereafter *Papers PUTS*, 1990, microfilm), Shelf Vol. 9. This was Jackson's first in a series of letters to Mrs. Shepard in an appeal to obtain money for a new museum building on the training school grounds.
15. For a list of publications in which Jackson's articles appeared see: Honorable James Wickersham, *A Bibliography of Alaskan Literature 1724-1924* (Fairbanks, Alaska: Alaska Agricultural College and School of Mines, 1927), entries under Sheldon Jackson.
16. Numerous other reports to congress and the Bureau of Education can be found in *A Bibliography of Alaskan Literature 1724-1924* by the Honorable James Wickersham.
17. *The North Star*. The Complete Issues from December 1887 to December 1892 (Sitka, Alaska), facsimile reproduction (Seattle: Shorey Book Store, 1973), November 1890.
18. Jackson to William Kelly 19 November 1890, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 8. Prices assigned to the objects illustrated Jackson's fund raising abilities. The letter to Kelly listed two Eskimo masks to be sold at $3.00 each. Three years later, in August of 1894 while at Pt. Hope, Jackson noted in his diary that he purchased "a large number of masks at from 2 to 3 cents each." 1 August 1894, *SJ Diaries* PHS, Rl. 1.
19. *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Benjamin Ortiz, Registrar, P.T. Barnum Museum, phone conversation with author, 8 August 1990. Ortiz to author, personal correspondence with photographs, November 1990. The Brigdgeport Scientific Society did not last much past the 1890s; however, the collection from this organization was sold to Mr. P.T. Barnum, another avid collector, and some other unnamed scientific insutution in Connecticut. According to the officials of the P.T. Barnum Museum, a number of the pieces have Jackson's characteristic signature and date collected written on them. Most of the pieces are obviously from the duplicate sale, but a few pieces must have come from Jackson's personal collection. The duplicates sold by the society were all Eskimo materials but the P.T. Barnum Museum has artifacts from Southeast Alaska and the Southwest with Jackson's signature.
20. See appendix "E". An original advertisement can be found in the archives of Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska.
21. David S. Kennedy, Collections Manager, University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology, personal correspondence to the author, 12 March, 7 August 1990. Included are photo copies of the museum's accession book showing accession #516 from William A. Peterson.
22. Eileen M. Conforti, Manger, Gardner House, Brown University, to Peter Corey, Curator, Sheldon Jackson Museum, 29 April 1987, Sheldon Jackson collected objects at Brown University (Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives: Sitka, Alaska hereafter Brown University, SJM Archives), file folder.
23. Jackson to Manager of Mr. Bishop's Hawaiian Museum, 28 March 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 10; Jackson to Hon. L.A. Thurston, 29 March 1895, ibid.

24. Ruth Horie, Reference Librarian, Bishop Museum, personal correspondence to the author, 25 September 1990. The Bishop Museum does have some Alaskan material, but all are well documented and none came from the Sheldon Jackson Museum.
25. Jackson to John Duff, 27 January 1891, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 8.
26. Edith Kilbuck to Jackson, 15 July 1892, ibid., Rl. 4 Vol. 17; 16 September 1890, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1; 6 September 1892, 7 July 1893, ibid., Jackson to Cassia Patton, 26 October 1893, Background Material Transferred from Stratton Library, 30 July 1985 (originals): Miscellaneous Correspondence (Sitka, Alaska: SJM Archives, hereafter Misc. Corr.), file folder..
27. 26 July 1890, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1; Captain Michael Healy and Mary Healy, George T. Emmons, Collections Records, (Sitka, Alaska: SJM Archives), "source cards."
28. 14 July, 21 July 1890, 15 July 1891, 1 June 1894, *SJ Diaries*, PHS Rl. 1; Simon Anderson, C.H. Coffin, S.J. Call and Lt. H.B. West, Collections Records, SJM Archives, "source cards."
29. 9 July 1893, a kamleika frame, 20 July 1893, frontlet and paper placed in the hands of the dead when buried, and small icon, 29 July 1893 tapestry from Unalaska; 11 September 1894, moose hide gloves and bird skins from St. Michael; 29 September 1894 photographs of Kodiak from Kodiak; 6 August 1894, cross fox skins from Cape Smyttee; 4 October 1894, snow shoes, and snuff mortar from Yakutat, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1.
30. 7 July 1893, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1.
31. W. Donald McLeod to Jackson, October 1891, *SJ Correspondence, PHS, Rl. 4 Vol. 16.*
32. "Arctic Curios. A Valuable Collection Added to the Sitka Museum," *The North Star*, November 1890. This article lists about 800 artifacts brought in by Jackson during his 1890 summer tour. 9 January 1893, minutes, SJM Archives. Nearly 1500 objects were donated by Dr. Jackson from his summer travels. 21 August 1893, ibid.. The minutes state that Jackson presented close to 3000 "curios" from Western Alaska and the Arctic.
33. Collections records, SJM Archives.
34. 1 August 1894, *SJ Diaries*, PHS Rl. 1; Dorothy Jean Ray, *Eskimo Masks: Art and Ceremony* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1967), 93.
35. Dorothy Jean Ray, *Eskimo Masks*, 93.
36. Jackson to Patton, 15 February, 14, 26 April 1893, Misc. Corr., SJM Archives. Jackson to Patton, 29 September 1892, Background Material transferred from Stratton Library, 30 July 1985 (originals): File Folder #1, hereafter FF #1, SJM Archives; L. R. Peckinpaugh to Jackson, 3 December 1892, ibid.; 9 March 1893, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16.
37. W. A. Kelly to Jackson, 27 November 1891, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16.
38. Kelly to Patton, 4 February 1892, misc. corr., SJM Archives.
39. 14, 21, March 1892, minutes, SJM Archives. "Resolved: By the Alaskan Society of Natural History and Ethnology: that this museum be named the Sheldon Jackson Museum and Library in honor of Dr. Sheldon Jackson to whose efforts we are indebted for so much of this collection and thus show our appreciation of his efforts in all work pertaining to Alaska's welfare."
40. Patton to Jackson, 24 March 1892, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16.
41. 13 March 1893, minutes, SJM Archives; Jackson to Patton, 14 April 1893, misc. corr., SJM Archives.
42. Jackson to Mrs. Shepard, 29 April 1893, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 9.
43. 21 August 1893, minutes, SJM Archives.
44. 14 August, 9 October 1893, ibid.
45. Samuel Elliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *Growth of the American Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 76; 15 January 1894, minutes, SJM Archives.
46. John J. Smith to Jackson, 20 February 1894, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17.
47. Michael Healy to Captain Shepard, 22 January, March 5 1893, Michael A. Healy [Papers 1881-1900] Mary Healy Diaries (Huntington Library: San Marion, undated; Alaska State Library: Juneau, Alaska, hereafter Healy Papers ASL), microfilm MS20.
48. 15 January 1893, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16. "I do not wish to have anything more to do with a large collection of curios. It took two days and the carpenters and nearly the whole crew's services to get them properly boxed and placed to the docks."
49. Healy to Shepard, 4 July 1893, Alaska File, ASL AR 2 Rl. 3.
50. Jackson to Cassia Patton, 23 March 1894, Misc. Corr., SJM Archives.
51. 1-15 May 1894, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1; "The Reception at the Sheldon Jackson Museum," 19 May 1894, *The Alaskan*.
The rift between Healy and Jackson was short lived. Jackson wrote letters in defense of Healy when the Captain was brought to trial for misconduct. For an account of Healy's troubles see: Cocke, "Hell-roaring Mike: A Fall from Grace in the Frozen North," *Smithsonian*, February 1983.
52. 8 October 1894, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1.

53. "Museum for Sitka," *Alaska Searchlight*, 4 February 1895, reprint from the *San Francisco Examiner*, date unknown.
54. John J. Smith to Jackson, 11 March 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, File D, miscellaneous correspondence, hereafter File D, MC). It would be interesting to know if the three men met to discuss the drawings, but if they did, no record has been found of the meeting.
55. Jackson to Mrs. Margaret Shepard, 15 March 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 10; Jackson to Mrs. William Thaw, 30 March 1895, ibid.
56. Jackson to Mrs. Shepard, 1 April 1895, *Papers*, ibid.; Mrs. Thaw to Jackson, 2 April 1895, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17.
57. Jackson to Galt Brothers Co., 15 April 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 10; Jackson to Gordon Hardware Co., 15 April 1895, ibid..
58. John J. Smith to Jackson, 22 July 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, ibid.; 13 July 1895, *The Alaskan*.
59. Leslie Yaw, *Sixty Years in Sitka, with Sheldon Jackson School and College* (Sitka, Alaska: Sheldon Jackson College Press, 1985), 129; Albert Davis (nephew of William Wells), personal conversations with author between 1986 -1992. According to Mr. Davis, his uncle traveled throughout Southeast Alaska interpreting for Jackson and assisting in collecting artifacts. Accession #266, Collections Records, SJM Archives; 13 June 1891, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1. Jackson noted in his diary that he "Looked up some seamen for Captain Healy. Secured William Wells, John Matthew and William, Hoonah native." During at least one summer 1891, these men made the trip to the Arctic with Jackson.
60. Jackson to Galt Brothers Co., 15 April 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 10. Jackson made an order for roofing that would be "substantial" but not too expensive. Jackson to Seattle Hardware, 14 December 1896, ibid., Shelf Vol. 11. The iron roofing was being shipped to Sitka in care of the Curator, Mr. Frobese. 11 January 1897, minutes, SJM Archives. The materials for the new roof had arrived. 23 January 1897, *The Alaskan*. The new roof had been added to the Sheldon Jackson Museum.
61. Jackson to Frobese, 23 March 1897, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 12.
62. 2 July 1897, minutes, SJM Archives.
63. Collections Records, SJM Archives.
64. Jackson to Patton, 13 March 1900, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 15; Jackson to Kelly, 13 March 1900, ibid.
65. While the baidarka was on loan to the Alaska State Museum in the mid-1980s for a kayak exhibit, the guest curator and foremost authority on Siberian and Alaskan kayaks, David Zimmerly, made some interesting discoveries about the so-called Aleut baidarka. Zimmerly feels the bow structure has been modified and the walrus skin covering is not of the same traditional quality used by Aleuts.
If indeed the Eskimos staying in Sitka were put to work making repairs to artifacts, it could explain the modifications — the Eskimo would have used some of his own traditional methods and he certainly would not have spent the time creating a water-safe craft that would not be used in the water. Once again Jackson and the Society had good intentions, but not on the same level or with the same objectives as that of a true scientific institution. David W. Zimmerly, *Qajak: Kayaks of Siberia and Alaska* (Juneau, Alaska: Division of Alaska State Museums, 1986), 15.
66. 3 October 1896, minutes, SJM Archives. Since the day Alaska was transferred to the United States is celebrated on October 18, it may be that someone had wanted to used the flag for a reenactment of the transfer. Jackson must have realized the flag would not survive too many such reenactments and wisely advised it not be loaned to anyone.
67. Jackson to George A. West, 19 January 1900, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 14.
68. Everett Hayden to Jackson, 3 November 1897, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 18. Mr. Hayden wanted to get Jackson to take the place of William Dall at a presentation to the National Geographic Society. Quite an honor considering Dall wrote the premier study on Alaska. F.V. Colville (botanist to Jackson, 8 April 1899, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5 Vol. 19. Colville requested to see Jackson's field-notes on the botany of the Yukon. Cleveland Abbe to Jackson, 20 March 1897, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 19. Mr. Abbe of the U.S. Weather Bureau wanted Jackson to arrange a place for a student to study the aurora borealis.
69. For a more complete history of the Ethnological Society, see: Craig Mishler, "The Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology: A Sitka Scientific Project 1887-1911," (Anchorage, Alaska: a paper presented to the Alaska Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, 1987), SJM Archives, unpublished paper.
70. George F. McAfee to Jackson, 26 February 1895, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17; Jackson to Mrs. Shepard, 1 April 1895, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 10.
71. Jackson to H.C. Olin, 22 January 1904, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 20.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Chapter 8

1. S.H. King to Jackson, 21 November 1892, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 4, Vol. 16. United States Bureau of Education, Special Report by the Bureau of Education, "Educational Exhibits and Convention at the World's Industrial, and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans 1884-1885, Part I Catalogue of Exhibits." (Washington, D.C.: GPO), 98-99.
2. United States Congress, Senate. "Report on Education in Alaska with Maps and Illustrations 1886," report by Reverend Sheldon Jackson, 49th Congress, 1st session 1886, Senate Exec. Doc. 85, p. 238. As U.S. Commissioner of Education, Eaton was instrumental in having Jackson appointed General Agent of Education for Alaska. The correspondence between the two men shows a great deal of mutual friendship and respect.
3. Frobese to Jackson, 4 April 1890, Biographical Files, Frederick Frobese (Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives: Sitka, Alaska) photocopy. George T. Emmons, with additions by Frederica de Laguna and biography by Jean Lowe, *The Tlingit Indians* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1991), xix; Article on Emmons Columbian collection, 26 December 1891, *The Alaskan, A Sitka Newspaper*, (Sitka, Alaska 1885-1907), 3. Emmons had been given special assignment by the Navy to set up an exhibit for the U.S. Government Building as organizer and collector for the Alaska exhibit.
4. Jackson to Putnam, 26 April 1892, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 8.
5. F.W. Putnam to Jackson, May 1891, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15; Jackson to Putnam, 26 April 1892, *A Collection of Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson Concerning Alaska 1879-1908* (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton University Theological Seminary, hereafter *Papers PUTS*, 1990, microfilm), Shelf Vol. 8.
6. H.R. Thornton & W.T. Lopp to Jackson, 1 June 1891, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 8; W. Donald McLeod, October 1891, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16; 30 July, 29 August 1891, *Sheldon Jackson Travel Diaries* (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter *SJ Diaries*, PHS 1977 microfilm), Rl. 1.
7. H. Peabody to Jackson, November 1891, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl., Vol. 8.
8. Emmons to Jackson, 31 October 1892, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl., Vol. 8; H. Peabody to Jackson, November 1891, ibid.; Jackson to Cassia Patton, 29 September 1892, background material transferred from Stratton Library, 30 July 1985 (originals): File Folder #1, hereafter FF#1, SJM Archives.
9. Award from John Eaton to Jackson 18 April 1894, award from Alice Fletcher to Jackson 18 April 1894, ibid., *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17. 10 August 1892, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1; Captain Michael Healy to Jackson, 25 January 1893, Alaska File of the Revenue Cutter Service 1867-1914, Letters received 11, August 1869 - 29 September 1910 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives, 1966, Microcopy No. 641; Alaska State Library, hereafter ASL, Juneau, Alaska) microfilm AR2 Rl. 3. 12 August, 15 June 1892, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1. Emmons to Jackson, 31 October 1892, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16. Ibid. Emmons to Jackson, 8 March 1893, ibid.; Jackson to Emmons 18 November 1892, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 8; Article on Emmons Columbian exhibit, 17 September 1892, *The Alaskan*; Accession #128, list, Sheldon Jackson collected objects at the Field Museum (Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives: Sitka Alaska, hereafter *Field Museum*, SJM Archives), file folder. This lists the Jackson ethnographic pieces purchased by the Field Museum following the World's Columbian Exposition.
10. Sheldon Jackson photograph collection (Presbyterian Historical Society: Philadelphia; Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter *SJ Photos*, PHS, 1985, microfilm), Rl. 1 & 2; Sheldon Jackson 1834-1909, Scrapbook Collection in the Presbyterian Historical Society (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter *SJ Scrapbooks 1894* microfilm), Rl. 1–11.
11. Jonaitis, *Land of the Totem Poles*, 116; Edward P. Alexander, *Museums in Motion*, (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979), 55-57.
12. V. Skiff to E.E. Ait, 30 May 1894, "Inventories 1894, Documents Confidential Correspondence," Field Museum, SJM Archives, file folder.
13. August 29 1891, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1.
14. Jeannette Paddock Nichols, *Alaska: A History of Its Administration, Exploitation, and Industrial Development During the First Half Century Under the Rule of the United States* (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), 271; 29 August 1891, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1. Following is a brief sample of Jackson's bookkeeping: "Perhaps could not be found—$49, From my own stores — $59.40, Reindeer Goods—$384.10.

15. Inventories, letters and acquisitions information can all be found in *Field Museum*, SJM Archives, file folder. A number of the objects Jackson exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition are now exhibited at the Field Museum in Chicago.
16. Jackson to Cassia Patton, 26 October 1893, background material transferred from Stratton Library 7/30/85 (originals): miscellaneous correspondence (Sitka, Alaska: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter miscellaneous correspondence), file folder. Jackson wrote to the society to let them know the sleigh and whale jaw bone were being returned from Chicago on the Northern Pacific Railroad for half fare and free on the steamer from Seattle.
17. Award from Alice Fletcher to Jackson, 18 April 1894, *Field Museum* SJM Archives, file folder. In Jackson's ethnological collection award, the judge described a kayak as having "all its belongings" and the "methods of transportation...well set forth."
18. David S. Kennedy, Collections Manager, UMMA, 12 March, 7 August 1990, personal correspondence with the author.
19. Governor James Sheakley to Jackson, 9 October 1896, "Appoint and Commission" certificate, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17.
20. Alaska Society of Natural History and Ethnology, minutes, 3 October 1896, (Sitka, Alaska: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter minutes, SJM Archives.) Also see Chapter 7.
21. Jackson to John Eaton, 26 May 1896, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17; Jackson to Board of Trustees, List of conditions under which Jackson would donate toward the institutions endowment fund, 1897, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 11, 482.
22. R. G. McNiece to Jackson, 10 December 1896, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 17; 25 June 1990, Richard Wunder, Library Director, Westminister College, personal correspondence to the author. Wunder, acknowledged that Westminister is indeed the college Sheldon Jackson helped found, but to his knowledge, there has never been a museum located there or even any artifacts associated with their institution. The name was later change to Westminister in order to satisfy all the trustees. In the fall of 1998, Curator of Collections, Peter Corey, was contacted by an anthropology instructor at Westminister with the information that she had discovered a group of artifacts from Sheldon Jackson. Jackson to S. Foster & Co., San Francisco, 27 November, 15 December 1901, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 18.
23. William L. Kahrl, "Omaha Unites a Nation: The Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898," World's Fair, Vol. 3, #3 (Summer 1983) 1-5.
24. 1, 25, 30, August, 2 September 1896, *SJ Diaries*, PHS, Rl. 1.
25. Lists of objects Jackson purchased for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition 1897-1899, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 11 & 12: 131-132 and 368-379.
26. 22 January 1990, Susan Crawford, personal correspondence with the author, Sheldon Jackson collected objects at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (Sitka, Alaska: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter *Smithsonian*, SJM Archives), file folder. A spot check of the collection by Susan Crawford of the Smithsonian staff in 1990, at the request of the author, confirmed that Jackson's name was attached to many of the objects.
27. United States Bureau of Education, Annual Report for the Year 1897-1898, "Chapter XXXVIII—The Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition, Held in Omaha, Nebraska, 1898," (Washington, D.C.: GPO), 1739-1740.
28. Lists of objects Jackson purchased for the Trans-Mississippi Exposition, 1897-1898, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 11 12: 131-132 and 368-379. Lists of objects, *Field Museum*, SJM Archives, file folder.
29. A. L. Benedict to Jackson, 6 September 1900, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 19.
30. *Pan-American Exposition, 1901, The Pan-American Official Catalogue and Guide*, "Ethnology Building," (Buffalo, NY: Pan-American Exposition, 1901), 177, 184; Pan-American Commemorative Diploma, 1901, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol 20.
A. C. Jackson to Jackson, 19 August 1901, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 20.
31. Jackson to A.C. Jackson, 16 September 1901, ibid..
32. Jackson to Brady, 24 November 1903, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 19; Brady to Jackson, 15 December 1903, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 20.
33. Article on exhibitors at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 17 December 1904, *The Alaskan*, 1. Jackson won a silver medal for his school exhibit, Brady earned gold medals for his Territorial and anthropological exhibits. Annie Miller to Mr. Acker, 24 March 1904, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 21.
34. Jackson to Brady, 16 November 1904, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 21.
35. *Smithsonian*, SJM Archives, file folder.
36. Ibid. The history of the transferred collection of ethnological materials from the Bureau of Education to the Smithsonian is as follows: "The material was collected by the Bureau of Education of the Interior Department for exhibition at various expositions. The museum of this bureau, which had existed since 1883, being abandoned, the material was transferred to the National Museum in January 1910."

37. Ibid.
38. Thomas Wilson to Jackson, 1893, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS Rl. 4 Vol. 16; F.W. True to Jackson, 12 April 1894, ibid., Rl. 4, Vol. 17; C. Hart Merriman to Jackson, 14 April 1894, ibid.; Frederick V. Colville to Jackson, 24 April 1894, ibid.; G. Brown Goode to Jackson, 23 November 1894, ibid.; F.V. Colville to Jackson ,8 April 1899, ibid., Rl. 5, Vol. 19; O.T. Mason to Jackson, 18 April 1901, ibid., Rl. 5, Vol. 20.
39. 1 June 1894, *SJ Diaries*, Rl. 1; Cleveland Abbe to Jackson, 20 March 1897, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 5, Vol. 18.
40. Franz Boaz to Jackson, 21 May, 21 October 1891, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 15-16; A.R. Alfred to Jackson, 1896, ibid., Rl. 4, Vol. 17; Caswelle Ellis to Jackson, 2 May 1896, ibid.; Thomas Biddle to Jackson, 1899, ibid., Rl. 5, Vol. 19.
41. *SJ Scrapbooks*, PHS, Rl. 1–11. Available at the Alaska State Historical Library, Juneau, Alaska and Stratton Library, Sheldon Jackson College, Sitka, Alaska.
42. Jackson to "Friends," 25 July 1907, *Papers*, PUTS, Shelf Vol. 26; 1877-1907, *SJ Photographs*, PHS, Series IV.
43. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, 452-464, and Postscript. From Jackson's mentions of his illness in his diary and information from Stewart, it sounds as though Jackson suffered either from chronic ulcers or perhaps cancer.
44. Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, Postscript.
45. S. H. King to Jackson, 21 November 1892, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, Rl. 4, Vol. 16; Stewart, *Sheldon Jackson*, Postscript, unpaged.

Afterword

1. Kenneth M. Jones to Peter L. Corey, 11 June 1984, *Sheldon Jackson Biography File* (Sitka, Alaska.: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter *SJ Biography File*), file folder; *Sheldon Jackson Collected Objects at the National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution* (Sitka, Alaska: Sheldon Jackson Museum Archives, hereafter *Smithsonian* SJM Archives), file folder.
2. Jackson to Samuel & Delia Jackson, 20 July 1857, *Correspondence Relating to Pioneer Presbyterian Missions West of the Mississippi and Missouri River and in Alaska, 1856-1908*, (Presbyterian Historical Society; Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, hereafter, *SJ Correspondence*, PHS, 1977, microfilm), Rl. 1, Vol. 2; Jackson to Louise Jackson Norcross, 29 May 1858, ibid.; Jackson to William H. Roberts, 27 March 1879, ibid., Rl. 2, Vol. 9.
3. Sheldon Jackson to Mrs. Margaret Shepard, 29 April 1893, *A Collection of Papers of the Reverend Sheldon Jackson Concerning Alaska, 1879-1908* (Robert E. Spear Library; Princeton University Theological Seminary, hereafter *Papers PUTS*, 1990, microfilm), Shelf Vol. 9.
4. Collections records (Sitka, Alaska: SJM Archives), see files on Sheldon Jackson collected objects at specific institutions.
5. Ibid.
6. 14 February 1992, Ellen Hays, personal conversation with the author; 1986-1992, Albert Davis, numerous personal conversations with the author about his Uncle's assistance to Sheldon Jackson; 27 February 1992, Frank Spilman, personal conversation with the author, Frank, a half Tlingit, had not been to Alaska until he enrolled at Sheldon Jackson College in the fall of 1992. He feels that Sheldon Jackson Museum is giving him the opportunity to learn about his Tlingit heritage. 19 February 1992, Jennifer Brady-Morales, conversation with the author, Jennifer is a Tlingit artist who feels the Sheldon Jackson Museum is an excellent place for school children to learn about Native cultures. She wishes that when she was in school the opportunity would have been given to her and her classmate to visit the museum. Today, preschoolers through college students visit the museum on a regular basis and the museum staff has acted as a consultant in planning a Native studies curriculum with the school district.
7. 1 February 1992, Dave Galanin, personal conversation with the author.
8. Program from "Opening the Book" exhibit. The title of the exhibit comes from a quote from another Arctic collector, Edward M. Nelson: "When the Eskimo between the Yukon and Kuskokwim Rivers become so sophisticated by contact with white men that mask festival falls into disuse, it will be but a short time until all the wealth of mythological fancy connected with them will become a sealed book." The exhibit helped to reopen that book.
9. Ibid.

A

Abbott, Edwin Hale:
founding of Sheldon Jackson Museum, 32; and interest in Native instruction, 38
Agriculture, Department of, 66
Alaska:
Sheldon Jackson's reasons for collecting in, 17; early government in, 23; and Organic Act of 1884, 24
Alaska Academy of Sciences and Museum of Ethnology:
See Sheldon Jackson Museum
Alaska and Missions on the North Pacific Coast: 17, 23
Alaska Natives:
cultural upheaval, 21; assimilation of, 17, 31, 38; and contrasts with Siberian Natives, 45
Alaskan Natural History and Ethnology, Museum of:
See Sheldon Jackson Museum
Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 66
Arthur, Chester A., 30

B

Baird, Spencer, 26
Bear, Revenue Cutter, 44
Bering Sea Patrol, 43
Bishop Museum of Honolulu, 47
Blatchelly, George S., 43
Board of Foreign Missions, 11
Board of Home Missions, 11, 13;
Jackson's failure to seek permission from, 17; and ownership of Sheldon Jackson Museum, 57
Board of Home Missions (Women's), 14
Brady, John G.:
collecting in Wrangell, 18; establishment of mission in Sitka, 20; sale of collected artifacts, 25; basketry collection, 27; contributions to the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, 27; support of Native crafts, 31; donations to Sheldon Jackson Museum, 36; comparisons with the Smithsonian Institution, 55; and the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 65
Bridgeport (CT) Scientific Society, 47
Brown University (Gardner House), 47

C

Cabinet of curiosities:
See Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection
Chilkat Mission (Haines), 26
Cleveland, Grover:
support of Jackson, 30
Coastal Yukon Mayors Association:
exhibit Opening the Book, 71
Collecting:
bribery, 18; from potential converts, 18; as a means of preserving Native culture, 21; and organized by anthropologists, 8
Collectors:
early amateurs in Alaska, 7; scientific, 7; and spiritual, 8
Columbian Exposition, World's, 59
Corey, Peter:
exhibit Opening the Book, 71

D

Dall, William H.:
the origins of Sheldon Jackson Museum, 34
Dickinson, Sarah:
at the Chilkat Mission, 27
Disappearance:
of artifacts, 62. *See also* Peterson, William; Willard, Eugene and Carrie
Domestic Missions, Board of:
See Board of Home Missions
Duncan, William, 36

E

Eaton, John, 59, 60
Emmons, George T.:
the Mt. St. Elias expedition, 30; and Columbian Exposition, 59
Eskimos:
changes in material culture, 64. *See also* Alaska Natives

F

Field Museum of Natural History, 61
Field, Marshall, 61
Foreign Missions, Board of:
See Board of Foreign Missions
Frobese, Frederick:
donations to Sheldon Jackson Museum, 36
Funerary objects:
collection of, 48

G

Galanin, Dave:
access to collection by artists, 71
Geddes, Charles:
octagonal building design, 52
Gould, J. Loomis:
Haida collections, 26
Graves, 48. *See also* Funerary objects
Green, W. Henry:
the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, 25
Guyot, Arnold:
the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, 25; and Tlingit collection, 28

H

Healy, Michael:
relations with Sheldon Jackson, 44; donations to Sheldon Jackson Museum, 48; and conflict with Sheldon Jackson, 51
Home Missions, Board of:
See Board of Home Missions
Home Mission Collection:
See Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection

I

Industrial Cotton Exposition, World's, 59
International Exposition, 62

J

Jackson Columbian Exposition Collection:
formation of, 60; and disposition of, 61
Jackson, Arthur C., 64
Jackson, Delia (mother), 9
Jackson, Louise (sister), 9
Jackson, Samuel (father), 9
Jackson, Sheldon:
predecessors of, 7; motives for collecting, 7-8; childhood, 9; education, 9-10; the Sepoy Rebellion, 10; fund-raising abilities, 10; the Choctaw Reservation (Spencer, Oklahoma), 10; spiritual development, 10; early interest in collecting, 10; as a classroom teacher, 11; the Civil War, 12; the Synod of Iowa, 12; in Minnesota, 12; the Colorado Synod, 13-14; public relations, 13-16; visits to the Southwest, 14; interest from the Smithsonian Institution, 15; first visit to Alaska, 17; educational theory, 17; rising artifact prices, 19; collecting practices of, 19; Tlingit traders, 19; collecting from graves, 20; tour of Southeast Alaska, 20; totem pole incident at Old Stickeen, 20; cultural appreciation, 21; acculturation through education, 21; public relations, 23-28; relations with Congress, 23-28; his campaign for appointment as General Agent for Education, 24; relations with the Smithsonian Institution, 26; modern criticism, 26; miscredited artifacts, 27; as General Agent for Education in Alaska, 29-41; purpose for collecting, 30-31; arrest of, 30; resource library of, 31; contributions to Sheldon Jackson Museum, 34; Metlakatla totems, 36; purposes for building a museum, 38; introduction of reindeer to Alaska, 45; collection opportunities in Siberia, 45; interpretive writing skills of, 46; collection of funerary objects, 48; fundraising for new building, 50; relations with the Revenue Cutter Service, 52; changes in collecting habits, 55; withdrawal from direct participation in Sheldon Jackson Museum, 56; death of, 57, 68; expositions, 59-68; management of government funds, 62; relations with Smithsonian Institution, 66; scientific expertise, 66; personal history of, 67; resignation as General Agent of Education, 67; and central paradox of, 21, 69
Jackson, Sheldon (museum):
See Sheldon Jackson Musem
Jesup Expedition, 8

K

Kelly, William, 47, 49
Kendall, Henry, 20
Kendall, Mrs. Henry, 15
Kinkead, John, 29
Koryak, Siberian, 45
Krause, Arthur and Anel:
collecting for the Berlin Museum, 25

L

Libbey, William:
the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, 30; and the origins of Sheldon Jackson Museum, 34
Lindsley, Dr. A. L., 20
Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 65

M

Marsden, Edward, 40
McFarland, Amanda, 17
McLean, John J., 25
McLeod, Donald, 48
Metlakatla, 36
Metlakatla Cooperative Store, 34
Michigan, Univ. of (Museum of Anthropology):
purchase of artifacts, 47
Muir, John:
1879 trip to Alaska, 20; as witness to the totem pole incident at Old Stickeen, 20

N

National Education Association:
Sheldon Jackson's efforts to lobby, 24
Native Americans:
conversion, 17. *See also* Alaska Natives
Natural History Ethnology, Museum of:
See Sheldon Jackson Museum
Natural History, National Museum of, 66
New York Times:
the Mt. St. Elias expedition, 30

O

Octagons, in building construction:
See Geddes, Charles
Omaha Trans-Mississippi Exposition of 1898:
See Trans-Mississippi Exposition
Organic Act of 1884, 24

P

Paul, Louis and Tillie, 27
Peabody, H., 60
Peterson, William, 62
Point Hope, 49
Presbyterian Historical Society, 67
Presbyterian Home Mission.
See Board of Home Missions
Presbytery of Oregon, 17
Princeton Theological Seminary, 10, 15;
Sheldon Jackson's correspondence, 67
Putnam, F.W., 59, 61

R

Reindeer, 45
Revenue Cutter Service, 45
Rocky Mountain Presbyterian, 13, 14;
Amanda McFarland's letters in, 18; 19; Sheldon Jackson's efforts to gain government support, 23; transfer to the Board of Home Missions, 24
Roberts, William H.:
the Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection, 25
Rochester Female Institute, 12
Russian Orthodox Church:
opposition to Jackson, 29

S

Schultze, Paul:
collecting for the Berlin Museum, 25
Secor, David Pell, 47
Sepoy Rebellion, 10
Sheldon Jackson College (proposed), 63
Sheldon Jackson Home Mission Collection:
establishment at Princeton Theological Seminary, 16, 18; growing Alaskan collection, 24; the transfer to Princeton College, 25; and during Jackson's tenure as General Agent for Education, 30
Sheldon Jackson Museum:
contributions of John G. Brady, 28; origins of, 32-33; argillite collection, 34; merger of founding organizations, 35; construction of, 38; early displays, 40; exhibit overcrowding, 47; size of collection by 1893, 48; early donations to, 48; expansion of, 49; naming of, 50; sources of building funds, 52; construction of concrete structure, 53; opening of, 55; diminishing interest in, 57; ownership questions, 57; artifacts from the Columbian Exposition, 62; modern loans of artifacts, 70; use by modern artists craftsmen, 71; and summer demonstration program, 71
Shepard, Margaret, 50
Sitka Industrial and Training School:
Native crafts, 31
Sitka Museum:
See Sheldon Jackson Museum
Smith, John G., 51
Smithsonian Institution:
field collecting, 25; invitation to Sheldon Jackson to collect, 26; and collection of Sheldon Jackson, 66
Spencer Academy, 11
Spencer, Miss (of Pennsylvania), 15

T

Tennessee Centennial Exposition, 62
Thaw, Mrs. William, 52
Townsend, Charles H., 45
Toy-a-att:
presentation of armor, 21
Trans-Mississippi Exposition Collection, 65

U

Union College, 9

V

Vorhees, Mary (Mrs. Sheldon Jackson), 10

W

Weather Bureau, National:
relations with Sheldon Jackson, 66
Wells, William, 53
Whalers and sealers, commercial:
impact on Bering Sea Natives, 45
Willard, Eugene and Carrie:
at the Chilkat Mission, 26; and absence of objects in the Sheldon Jackson Museum, 27
Wrangell, Alaska:
attempts to establish a mission, 17

SHELDON JACKSON, The Collector

In her book, Rosemary Carlton introduces us to the Reverend Dr. Sheldon Jackson, the collector. Most frequently thought of as a missionary, educator and the introducer of reindeer into Alaska, Jackson was a voracious collector of Native American materials. His collecting intent was, "...to show the coming generations of native [sic] how their fathers lived." Carlton's extensive research of Jackson's papers and correspondence reveals his dedication to the use of artifacts for educational purposes in museums, expositions and World Fairs. The depth of Jackson's collecting, primarily of Alaska Native art and artifacts, is reflected in the thousands of pieces held in repositories large and small around the United States. As public interest in Native Americans grows worldwide, the Reverend Dr.'s collections increase in their ability to teach all of us how the Native peoples of Alaska lived and prospered in their homelands. The Sheldon Jackson Museum, the major repository of Jackson's collecting, is proud to continue to carry out this part of his philosophy.

Peter L. Corey,
Curator of Collections,
Sheldon Jackson Museum

Rosemary Carlton, a resident of Alaska for thirty years and the Interpretive Specialist at the Sheldon Jackson Museum for fourteen years, has a BA in History from Central Washington State University and a Masters in Liberal Studies with a museum emphasis from the University of Oklahoma. She has taught elementary and preschool students and worked as an interpreter and site supervisor for the National Parks Service.